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Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-121
Monday
26 June 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-121 CONTENTS *26 June 1989*

ALBANIA

- AWP Paper Views Fischer Visit, GDR Relations *[ATA]* 1
- Iraqi Foreign Ministry Delegation Visits 1
  - Hamdun Greeted Upon Arrival *[ATA]* 1
  - Talks Begin With Delegation *[Tirana Radio]* 1
  - Malile Receives Hamdun *[ATA]* 1
  - Myftiu Receives Hamdun *[Tirana Radio]* 2
  - Hamdun, Delegation Depart *[ATA]* 2
- Leaders' Public Appearances for 17-23 Jun *[Tirana Radio]* 2

BULGARIA

- Zhivkov Concludes, Discusses Visit to Moscow 3
  - Interviewed on Soviet Television *[BTA]* 3
  - Speaks to Journalists at Airport *[Sofia Radio]* 4
  - More on Journalists' Questions *[Sofia Radio]* 4
  - BTA Reports Zhivkov Talks 5
  - Zhivkov Departs From Moscow 23 Jun *[Sofia Radio]* 6
  - Further Reportage *[cross-reference]* 6
- Soviet Approach to Events in China Explained *[Simonov in ANTENI No 25]* 6
- Defense Minister Denies Soviet Troops' Presence *[BTA]* 7
- Foreign Pressure on Bulgarian Muslims Denounced *[VECHERNI NOVINI 22 Jun]* 7
- Protest Against Arrests of Citizens in Turkey *[BTA]* 8
- Communists Urged To Influence Fellow Muslims *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 22 Jun]* 8
- Party Daily on 'Anti-Bulgarian Propaganda Lies' *[BTA]* 9
- 16-21 Jun Press Coverage of Muslim Issue 10
- Customs Office Works To Handle Border Traffic *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 22 Jun]* 11
- Accusations Denied in Text of Letter to WHO *[BTA]* 12
- Glavanakov, Others Hold Economic Talks in Ottawa *[BTA]* 13
  - Visit Montreal, Toronto *[BTA]* 13
- Car Industry Cooperation With Yugoslavia *[BTA]* 13

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Jakes Report to 14th Central Committee Plenum *[RUDE PRAVO 15 Jun]* 14
- Adamec Report on Economy to Federal Assembly *[RUDE PRAVO 21 Jun]* 28
  - Adamec Closes Assembly Session *[RUDE PRAVO 22 Jun]* 44

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- Honecker Congratulates New Chinese Party Head *[ADN]* 46
- Shanghai Reports Execution of 'Violent Criminals' *[NEUES DEUTSCLAND 22 Jun]* 46
- FRG, GDR Exchange 'Secret Agents' 23 Jun *[Hamburg DPA]* 46
- FRG Citizen Sentenced on Espionage Charges *[ADN]* 46
- Security Issues Discussed at Bonn Colloquium *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 22 Jun]* 46
- U.S. Soldiers on Shopping Sprees in East Berlin 47
- Economic Planning Talks With CSSR Delegation *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 22 Jun]* 47
- Swedish Defense Delegation Continues Visit 47
  - Visits Military Academy *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 22 Jun]* 47
  - Tours Foreign Ministry *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 22 Jun]* 48
- Plenum Communique on Party Congress Preparations *[ADN]* 48
- Krenz Presents Awards to Select Citizens *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 22 Jun]* 49
- Leaders' Public Appearances for 14-21 Jun 49

HUNGARY

- Closed Central Committee Session Continues ... 51
  - Session To Resume 24 Jun *[MTI]* ... 51
  - 'Lively' Debate at MSZMP Session *[Budapest Radio]* ... 51
  - Details of MSZMP Debate 'Leaked' *[Budapest Radio]* ... 51
  - Nyers Named Party Chairman *[Budapest Radio]* ... 51
  - New Composition Explained *[MTI]* ... 52
  - Democratic Forum To Become Party *[MTI]* ... 52
  - Politburo Expanded *[Budapest Radio]* ... 53
  - Members of Expanded Politburo Listed *[MTI]* ... 53
  - Pozsgay Nominated as President *[Budapest Radio]* ... 53
  - Communique Issued on Session *[MTI]* ... 53
  - 'Standpoint' on Party Situation *[MTI]* ... 54
  - Barabas on Nyers Appointment *[Budapest Radio]* ... 55
  - DIE WELT Interviews Nyers *[MTI]* ... 55
  - New Presidium Members Interviewed *[Budapest TV]* ... 55
- Romania Dismantles Some Border Fencing *[Budapest Radio]* ... 64
- Tabajdi To Face Party Disciplinary Charges *[Budapest TV]* ... 64

POLAND

- Youth Groups Demonstrate in Gdansk, Krakow *[PAP]* ... 65
- Walesa Addresses Solidarity Representatives *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 65
- 'Solidarity' Civic Parliamentary Club Founded *[PAP]* ... 65
  - More on 'Solidarity' Club *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 65
- Orzechowski Interviewed on Election to Sejm *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 20 Jun]* ... 65
- Mazowiecki on Successful Elections, Solidarity *[Vienna PROFIL 26 Jun]* ... 66
- GAZETA WYBORCZA on 2d Round Elections *[PAP]* ... 68
- Election Commission on Sejm, Senate Organization *[TRYBUNA LUDU 20 Jun]* ... 68
- Ciosek Interviewed on Trade Unions, Pluralism *[NOWE DROGI May]* ... 68
- State Council Meets, Announces Appointments *[TRYBUNA LUDU 20 Jun]* ... 71
- Commentary Views 'Negative Features' in Economy *[Sieradzinski in TRYBUNA LUDU 20 Jun]* ... 72
- Press Reports PRC Arrests, Death Sentences *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 19 Jun]* ... 73

ROMANIA

- Leaders at Festive Meeting on Pioneers' Day *[AGERPRES]* ... 74
  - Ceausescu Message to Pioneers *[AGERPRES]* ... 74
  - Ceausescu, Wife Attend Show *[AGERPRES]* ... 75
- Dobrescu, Trade Union Delegation Visit Mongolia *[AGERPRES]* ... 76
- Sailor Jumps Ship, Seeking Asylum in Turkey *[Ankara Radio]* ... 76
- TASS Commentary on Budapest Events Cited *[SCINTEIA 21 Jun]* ... 77
- New Cargo Ship Launched at Braila Shipyards *[AGERPRES]* ... 77
- Leaders' Public Appearances 17-23 June ... 77

YUGOSLAVIA

- Kidnapping of Belgian Justice Minister Thwarted *[Belgrade Radio]* ... 79
  - More on Plot To Kidnap Minister *[TANJUG]* ... 79
- Markovic Receives Turkish Justice Minister *[TANJUG]* ... 79
- Commission Endorses Report on LCY Activity *[TANJUG]* ... 79
- LCY Presidium Explains Position on Orlandic *[TANJUG]* ... 80
- Army Paper Commentary Examines 'Inside' Dangers *[Stojadinovic in NARODNA ARMIJA 15 Jun]* ... 80
- 'Hostile' Pamphlets Appear in Pristina, Pec *[TANJUG]* ... 81
- Gracanin Visits Kosovo, Discusses 'Situation' *[TANJUG]* ... 81
- Sejlani Urges Peaceful Kosovo Battle Anniversary *[TANJUG]* ... 82
- Slovenia Called 'Seriously Late With Democracy' *[BORBA 16 Jun]* ... 82
- Slovene Political Groups Discuss Party Program *[Belgrade Radio]* ... 83
- Slovene Democratic Alliance Holds First Congress ... 84

- Rupel, Bucar Make Remarks *[Ljubljana Radio]* 84
- Further on First Congress *[TANJUG]* 84
- Congress Concludes Session *[Ljubljana Radio]* 85

Slovene Official Views Parallel Legal System *[TANJUG]* 86
Commercial TV Show Slated for Ljubljana Studio *[TANJUG]* 86
Macedonian Candidates Debate Economy, Politics *[TANJUG]* 86
Bosnia, Macedonia Face Presidency Elections *[TANJUG]* 87
Secret Voting Concludes in Macedonia Elections *[TANJUG]* 87
50-60 Percent Turnout in Bosnia Elections *[TANJUG]* 87
Dimitrovic Criticizes New Political Parties *[TANJUG]* 88
Croatian Democratic Community Secretly Founded *[TANJUG]* 88
Vojvodina LC Voices Protest Over PRC Events *[TANJUG]* 88
Vojvodina Constitutional Amendments Adopted *[Belgrade Radio]* 89

AWP Paper Views Fischer Visit, GDR Relations

AU2306115389 Tirana ATA in English
0945 GMT 23 Jun 89

["Important Step in the Relations With the German Democratic Republic—Article of the Newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, June 23 (ATA)—The official and friendly visit the foreign minister of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), Oscar Fischer paid to our country and the results of the talks conducted, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT writes in an article by its commentator Arben Karapici, contribute to the strengthening of the dialogue between our two countries. The agreements signed in Tirana on economic, industrial, and technical-scientific cooperation, as well as those on cooperation in the field of health and medical sciences, open up fresh perspectives on this road of cooperation.

In the talks conducted in Tirana between the two foreign ministers, the common desire was expressed that the relations between Albania and the GDR be carried ahead in various fields of common interest, especially in the economic-trade, technical-science, culture, health fields etc. It was stressed the need to exploit the existing possibilities, and find the new ways for the increase of economic cooperation and the expansion of trade exchanges, which will create an important basis and give a new impulse to the development of the bilateral relations in these fields. All these mark an important step in the further development of the friendly relations, and in broader fields of the bilateral cooperation as well.

What links us with the people of the German Democratic Republic is not only the cooperation in various fields and the feelings of mutual respect, but also the common interest to preserve peace in Europe and the world. "Your visit to Albania," Comrade Ramiz Alia said in the meeting with the foreign minister, Oscar Fischer, "is an important development which undoubtedly will influence the further promotion of relations between Albania and the German Democratic Republic. Our two countries and peoples are friends and it is our duty to carry ahead this friendship."

The foreign minister of the GDR hailed the independent policy of socialist Albania and its determination to maintain the prestige and national pride. Likewise, he assessed the great efforts the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, together with other states, makes to transform the Balkans into a region of peace, confidence, and cooperation.

Hailing the results of this visit, the article of the "ZERI I POPULLIT" writes in conclusion, we express the conviction that walking on the path of cooperation and relations of friendship by both sides, new positive developments will be marked in the relations between our two countries and to the benefit of peace and progress, so much necessary for the stability in Europe and the world.

Iraqi Foreign Ministry Delegation Visits

Hamdun Greeted Upon Arrival

AU2306112989 Tirana ATA in English
0956 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 23 (ATA)—At the invitation of Ministry of the Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the under-secretary for foreign affairs of the Republic of Iraq, Nizar Hamdun, arrived in Tirana, on June 22, on an official friendly visit.

At airport he was received by the deputy minister for foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani, and other functionaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Talks Begin With Delegation

AU2306185389 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1800 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Talks were held this morning at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between the delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, led by Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and the delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Republic of Iraq, led by Nizar Hamdun, under secretary for foreign affairs.

During the talks, which took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere, an assessment was made of the state of relations between the two countries, and of the possibilities for their further development in the fields of trade, culture, science, and in other fields of mutual interest.

The talks also covered some problems pertaining to the current international situation, with particular stress on the Middle East and the Balkan region.

Malile Receives Hamdun

AU2406122089 Tirana ATA in English
0905 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 24 (ATA)—The minister for foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Reis Malile, received the under-secretary for foreign affairs of the Republic of Iraq, Nizar Hamdun on June 23, with whom he had a friendly talk.

On this occasion, it was spoken of the ancient links existing between the Albanian people and the Iraqi one, as well as on the further development of relations between the two countries in various fields of mutual interest. Likewise it was spoken of the developments in the Middle East, the Balkans, and Europe.

Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Iraq to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Mamdoh Abdul Hamid [name as received].

Myftiu Receives Hamdun

AU2406190389 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Comrade Manush Myftiu, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received Nizar Hamdun, under secretary for foreign affairs of the Republic of Iraq. Comrade Manush Myftiu pointed out the traditional and friendly links the Albanian people have with the Iraqi and other fraternal Arab peoples. He expressed the view that there is the desire and the possibilities for relations between Albania and Iraq to develop and progress in various fields of mutual interest. Comrade Manush Myftiu briefed the Iraqi guest about the efforts of the Albanian people for the construction of the new life during the years of the people's regime, as well as the principled foreign policy of our state in defense of national freedom and independence, peace, and security in the Balkans and beyond.

The meeting was also attended by Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and (Mamdoh Abdul Hamid), extraordinary and plenipotentiary Iraqi ambassador to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

The meeting took place in a friendly atmosphere.

Nizar Hamdun was also received today by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade. They discussed questions pertaining to trade between the two countries to date, as well as the possibilities to increase it.

Hamdun, Delegation Depart

AU2506140889 Tirana ATA in English 0940 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 25 (ATA)—The undersecretary for foreign affairs of the Republic of Iraq, Nizar Hamdun, who made an official and friendly visit to Albania at the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs left our country on June 25.

At the airport he was seen off by the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani, and other functionaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 17-23 Jun

AU2306162189

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 17 through 23 June reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (date and time of report given in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, and Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo members; and Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali, and Vangjel Cerrava, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate members, attended on the opening session of the People's Assembly 20 June. (1800 GMT 20 Jun 89) All aforementioned leaders were also reported as attending the closing session of the Assembly on 21 June. (1800 GMT 21 Jun 89)

Foto Cami, Prokop Murra, Pirro Kondi, and Llambi Gegprifti attended an outdoor Youth Festival in Tirana on 18 June. (1800 GMT 18 Jun 89)

Ramiz Alia received Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, on 21 June. (1800 GMT 21 Jun 89)

Adil Carcani received Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, on 20 June. (1330 GMT 20 Jun 89)

Vangjel Cerrava attended the anniversary of a wartime battalion in the village of Blace, Pogradec District, on 18 June. (1800 GMT 18 Jun 89)

Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, began talks with Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, on 19 June. (1800 GMT 19 Jun 89) He also hosted a dinner for Fischer on the same day. (2000 GMT 19 Jun 89)

Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, attended a seminar on the role of the people's councils on 22 June. (1800 GMT 22 Jun 89)

Zhivkov Concludes, Discusses Visit to Moscow

Interviewed on Soviet Television

AU2206202989 Sofia BTA in English
1946 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow, June 22 (BTA special correspondent)—In an interview broadcast on Soviet television this evening, Mr Todor Zhivkov said, referring to his forthcoming meeting with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, "I am not the only one who is profoundly optimistic about the results of this meeting. I think all our people are looking forward to it with excitement and optimism."

Asked by the Soviet television interviewer Mr Viktor Lyubovtsev about the character of the restructuring in Bulgaria, Mr Todor Zhivkov said: "The word 'restructuring' has not come from Bulgaria or from any other socialist country, the word 'restructuring' came from the Soviet Union. What has been going on in our country since the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would, therefore, have been unimaginable without everything that is happening in the Soviet Union under the sign of the Soviet perestroyka, and, I could say, without everything that is happening in the other socialist countries, too. Thus, what is being done in Bulgaria for the restructuring of our society, of socialism in Bulgaria, is extensively based on the experience of the Soviet Union and of the other fraternal socialist countries."

"The restructuring in the People's Republic of Bulgaria," he went on to say, "is carried out on the basis of our efforts to reform radically the economic basis of socialism, to change and democratize the socio-political system, to introduce wide-ranging democratization and pluralism in all spheres of public activity."

Discussing the July 1987 Concept of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], Mr Todor Zhivkov emphasized that this is a concept of the restructuring of socialist society in Bulgaria. It does not pretend to set forth some model of socialism relevant to all socialist countries. It takes into account, above all, the specific conditions of Bulgaria.

Listing the three characteristic features of the July Concept, he said that, first, it asserts that socialist property is single and indivisible in its variety, secondly, it formulates democratic centralism as a devolution of actual power from the apex of the social pyramid to its base, to where people live and work, and thirdly, it defines the party as a vanguard of the people, as a motor force of everything but not as a tier of the administration.

The secretary general of the Central Committee of the BCP and president of the State Council of Bulgaria dwelled on the great importance of the December 1988 Plenum of the Central Committee of the BCP as a catalyst of the social processes. The plenum gave an impetus for the implementation of the July Concept. It takes credit for identifying the ways and the forms of revolutionary restructuring where people live and work so as to enlist the participation of the millions of people in the restructuring.

Mr Todor Zhivkov told about the incorporation of companies in Bulgaria. He went on to discuss some paradoxes in the development of socialism and indicated that the further progress of socialism should be placed on the basis of revolutionary change so as to guarantee living conditions for people in a civilisation foreseen by our great preceptors [as received], a civilisation for which the Great October Socialist Revolution broke out.

Asked about Bulgaro-Soviet relations and about the way they are influenced by restructuring, the secretary general of the Central Committee of the BCP and president of the State Council of Bulgaria said: "My latest face-to-face working meeting with Comrade Gorbachev was very important for the promotion of our relations and for the restructuring in Bulgaria. Following that meeting, we in Bulgaria outlined a very wide range of moves intended to expand further our cooperation with the Soviet Union. Considering what is being done in Bulgaria, we believe that a huge step has been taken and is being taken towards the implementation of the common understanding we reached with Comrade Gorbachev to upgrade Soviet-Bulgarian and Bulgaro-Soviet relations to a fundamentally new level in the conditions of the restructuring in the Soviet Union and in Bulgaria."

Mr Todor Zhivkov expressed the conviction that his forthcoming working meeting with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev will be of just as exceedingly great importance for the further promotion of bilateral relations.

Speaking of the restructuring of the fraternal cooperation between the two countries, the Bulgarian leader emphasized that during his forthcoming meeting with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, bilateral relations, the relations among the socialist countries and other aspects of the internal and international developments will be on the agenda.

"The strategic line of restructuring in the Soviet Union and the strategic line of restructuring in Bulgaria are identical," the secretary general of the Central Committee of the BCP and president of the State Council of Bulgaria emphasized. "This is precisely what guarantees that ever better conditions will be created for wider bilateral cooperation."

In conclusion Mr Todor Zhivkov said that the Bulgarian people were following with excitement and satisfaction what is being done in the Soviet Union for the restructuring of Soviet society and are aware of the immense problems which are being solved there as well as of the difficulties which are being encountered.

"The Bulgarian people are inspired by what happened at the Congress of People's Deputies in the Soviet Union," the interviewee said. "It can only be defined as a major historic stage in the progress of perestroyka and of the Soviet Union itself, a stage which maps out the further process of complete and comprehensive self-government of Soviet society."

Mr Todor Zhivkov again congratulated Mr Mikhail Gorbachev on his election as president of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He wished the Soviet people every success in the construction of socialism and conveyed to them cordial greetings on behalf of the Bulgarian people, of the Bulgarian Communists and of all working people in Bulgaria.

Speaks to Journalists at Airport

AU2306191789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Shortly before his departure from Moscow, Comrade Todor Zhivkov had a meeting at Vnukovo Airport with Bulgarian and Soviet journalists, among whom was our Moscow correspondent Borislav Bondzhiev.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov was kind enough to answer the following question especially for Bulgarian radio: In what light was the idea on the common European home and the practical implementation of the Vienna accords examined?

We did not to go into the details of the problems, for the reason that our time was short, but the main thing is that we have no differences regarding the construction of the common European home, our top leader replied. We are working together in a coordinated way on realizing this ideal, he stressed. Of course, we are doing this together with the Soviet Union, with the Soviet leadership led by Comrade Gorbachev.

We are not only rendering full assistance, but are working ourselves according to our possibilities both in the Balkans and in Europe for the implementation of the common European home. We are profoundly convinced that the first steps are already being made, and that this great idea will be realized, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated.

More on Journalists' Questions

AU2306204089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] As we have already reported, Comrade Todor Zhivkov paid a short working visit to the Soviet Union today. He had a meeting with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and held talks with him on a wide range of issues. After the talks, Mikhail Gorbachev gave a official luncheon in honor of the eminent Bulgarian visitor.

Before his departure from the Soviet capital, Comrade Todor Zhivkov answered questions from Bulgarian and Soviet journalists.

The correspondent of Soviet television asked how he assessed the significance of his present visit. Comrade Todor Zhivkov replied that during 1 hour 20 minutes Mikhail Gorbachev and he reviewed all the main problems of our comprehensive bilateral relations, the problems of the socialist community, and world problems. That shows that the meeting took place in an exceptionally businesslike and fruitful manner, in complete unanimity on the questions discussed. There are no differences between us on the problems of the restructuring that is being carried out in the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, on the problems of the socialist community, or on the problems of the international situation, so that the meeting was exceptionally fruitful, businesslike, and beneficial, the Bulgarian leader said.

In reply to a question from a correspondent of Bulgarian television on what [words indistinct] after the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, Comrade Todor Zhivkov said: You may inform our people that the meeting was exceptionally fruitful and useful for the further successful fraternal development of the relations between our two countries, for our two peoples, and for our two parties. I can tell you that we will continue in the future to march side by side regarding both the problems that concern our two countries and the problems concerning the contemporary international situation.

In reply to the BTA correspondent, who asked Comrade Todor Zhivkov about the new directions and forms of our bilateral economic cooperation, our top party and state leader said that these will be considered at the forthcoming meeting between Comrade Georgi Atanasov and Comrade Nikolay Ryzhkov. Of course, he said, we discussed the fundamental problems of principle, with a view to seeing how the future looks for our cooperation in the fields of the economy, culture, ideology, and in other spheres. We also discussed whether it would be expedient to develop a, so to say, new model for our cooperation, in conformity with the contemporary realities both in the Soviet Union and in Bulgaria.

We have already acquainted you with the details of the reply to the question asked by the correspondent of Bulgarian radio, and we will now dwell briefly on the reply to the question of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent, who asked what problems regarding the renewal processes of restructuring were discussed, and what the two parties' tasks are in this field.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov said that the processes of renewal are taking place in every single socialist country in a specific way, and this is understandable, for this depends on many internal factors, traditions, and so on. The main thing that interested us was the fundamental problems, the need for revolutionary alterations in the socialist system in all spheres: in the field of the economy, in the field of the economic sphere, in the field of the political superstructure, and in the sphere of social ideology, he said.

We will inform you of more details of the meeting between Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev in our later broadcasts.

BTA Reports Zhivkov Talks

AU2306213289 Sofia BTA in English
2023 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow, June 23 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council of Bulgaria, who was on a brief working visit here, had a meeting with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, secretary general of the Central Committee of the CPSU and chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The talk started with exchange of information. Mr Mikhail Gorbachev spoke of the results of the work of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and assessed the forum as an exceptional event in the life of the Soviet society and an important stage of the political reform.

It would be presumptuous to consider that we have a completed concept for all directions of the development of society. But the party has determined correctly the chief trend: That is the democratization of the economic and political system, of the entire intellectual life, the establishing of a state resorting to law, pointed out Mr Mikhail Gorbachev.

Mr Todor Zhivkov said that the Bulgarian Communists, the wide Bulgarian public, follow with interest everything under way in the USSR and understand very well the importance of the processes not only for the USSR but for the other socialist countries, for the overall development of the international situation. There are significant economic transformations in Bulgaria as well, which culminate in the establishing of companies.

Mr Todor Zhivkov spoke of the measures for reform of the political system of the country with a view to the need of interrelation between the reforms in the economic and the political system.

The leaders of the two parties paid attention to the number of similar moments in the processes of restructuring in the USSR and Bulgaria. Each fraternal party and state is completely independent in the determining of the forms of social development, of the tasks and rates of the ripe transformations, was stressed at the meeting. At the same time ever more important becomes the mutual studying of the experience, the sincere friendly exchange of analysis on the results of the activities.

Discussing certain questions of the Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation, the two sides stressed the need of braver movement on the road of cooperation, the establishing of joint companies included. It was agreed to discuss the concrete tasks on the development of the Soviet-Bulgarian economic cooperation during the forthcoming visit of Mr Nikolay Ryzhkov in Bulgaria.

Mr Mikhail Gorbachev and Mr Todor Zhivkov confirmed the coincidence of the principled approaches toward radical innovation of the mechanism of integration interaction between the CMEA member states. They stood for the creation of conditions in which the socialist integration will have new stimuli and scope by using broadly the commodity-money levers, the improvement of the credit-financial mechanism in the cooperation.

The Soviet and the Bulgarian leaders expressed satisfaction over the growing contribution of the socialist countries, as well as in the framework of the organization of the Warsaw Treaty, to the processes of healing and stabilizing of the international relations, most of all in the European continent. They see the future of Europe in the strengthening of the mutual confidence and security through radical reduction of armed forces and all kinds of weapons, through multi-scale and equal right international cooperation in the political, economic and humanitarian sphere.

In a statement before Bulgarian and Soviet journalists before leaving Moscow Mr Todor Zhivkov assessed his visit as exceptionally businesslike and fruitful.

Mr Todor Zhivkov said that at his meeting with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, which lasted one hour and twenty minutes, they have discussed all basic problems of the bilateral relations, the problems of the socialist community and the problems of the world. That shows that the meeting has been exceptionally fruitful and businesslike, in complete unanimity on the discussed issues. There are no differences between us on the problems of the restructuring in the USSR and Bulgaria, as well as on the problems of our socialist community, on the problems of the international situation, pointed out the Bulgarian party and state leader.

Mr Todor Zhivkov noted the great importance of the Bulgaro-Soviet top-level meeting for the further development of the relations between the two countries and their peoples, between the communist parties.

Answering to a question about the aspects of the discussion of the idea for a common European home and the implementation of the Vienna accords, the secretary general of the Central Committee of the BCP and president of the State Council said: The important thing is that we have no differences in connection with the construction of a common European home. We work jointly, in coordination for the realization of this idea. Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed the leading role and the contribution of the USSR, of the Soviet leadership headed by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, for the realization of this idea. We also work in the Balkans and in Europe for the realization of the idea for a common European home. We are deeply convinced that the first steps have already been made and that this great idea will be realized, emphasised Mr Todor Zhivkov.

Zhivkov Departs From Moscow 23 Jun

AU2306171189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov, who had been on a brief working visit to the Soviet Union, has departed for his native land.

At Vnukovo Airport in Moscow he was seen off by Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee, and by other officials.

Georgi Pankov, Bulgarian ambassador to the Soviet Union, and Viktor Sharapov, Soviet ambassador to Bulgaria, were also at the airport.

Further Reportage

For Moscow-source reportage on the visit by President Todor Zhivkov to the Soviet Union, including the text of an interview given to Moscow Television as well as reporting on Zhivkov's talks with CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, please see the East Europe section of the 26 June Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Soviet Approach to Events in China Explained

AU2306132489 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No 25 21 Jun 89 p 11

[Article by Vladimir Simonov, NOVOSTI political observer, from Moscow, special for ANTENI: "Common Sense and Responsibility"]

[Text] Despite the fact that the smoke of the fires on the streets of Beijing is dissipating, the concern about events in China has not subsided in the West. Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher warned that there should be no business as usual with the Chinese authorities. The French Premier Michel Rocard intends to "freeze relations with the PRC at all levels." If we consider the fact that several North European countries are evacuating their diplomats' families from Beijing, we can easily detect the mood prevailing in the Western capitals on this issue.

Despite the emotional nature of this reaction, we cannot say that any Western capital has drastically worsened its relations with Beijing. For unknown reasons, however, this is exactly what the Western powers insist that Moscow should do. Voices are heard, also in the USSR, which propose a resolute diplomatic step—namely that Ambassador Oleg Troyanovskiy should be recalled from Beijing.

We would not give such advice, for the following reasons:

The events of 4 June on Tiananmen Square were not an isolated phenomenon. The processes that escalated into a tragedy are by no means a phenomenon applying only to China. Serious political scientists think that the world of socialism is undergoing a complicated process today, the meaning of which is to renew the sociopolitical system and to uncover the democratic potential of socialism. Some of these things have already happened, and this applies in particular to the involvement of millions of people in creative social work. Naturally, these processes cannot proceed according to an infallible computerized program.

Such a program does not exist. There is no ready-made method for transforming certain stagnating phenomena of socialism into those useful deeds which socialism is perfectly capable of. The mechanism of democracy is still in the process of development. As the Congress of People's Deputies shows, the mechanism, with all its institutions and laws, with the traditions of mutual relations between people and government, is still in its initial phase. In the absence of such a mechanism, however, there is no guarantee that an extreme situation may not emerge, under which the leaders are forced to decide on the spur of the moment what action to take, in order to prevent the security of the majority of the population from being endangered.

In the long run, the government of any country whatsoever, is entitled to have recourse to the use of force in trying to ensure law and order, and this has happened many times throughout history. Even a centuries-old democratic tradition does not preserve a country from tragedies. The victims of the shootings in Ulster, or the bombs exploding in Philadelphia remind us of the Biblical commandment: Do not judge others in order that you not be judged yourself.

To recall the Soviet ambassador from Beijing, as some maybe sincere, but naive, people suggested, would certainly represent a form of pressure upon China which is in contradiction with the new political thinking. This would be the least effective step to support the establishment of political stability in the PRC. As a matter of fact, stability and noninterference from abroad—this is what the Chinese people most urgently need today. Only in such an atmosphere can they assess the recent events and prevent this tragedy from stopping the progress of society toward democracy and economic prosperity.

Let us also consider the international implications that Troyanovskiy's hypothetical recall from Beijing may involve. A setback in the relations between the two giant countries would rekindle the hotbed of tension in the Far East. The states of the Asian-Pacific region, which just felt a great relief following the recent Soviet-Chinese summit meeting, would once more relapse in their old troubles.

This should not be allowed to occur. Common sense and a sense of responsibility should not be separated from each other in this case. Mikhail Gorbachev is well aware of this fact. This is what he said during his visit to Beijing in May 1989: It is, unfortunately, much easier to sever and break relations than to build them up, consolidate them, and make them more fruitful.

Defense Minister Denies Soviet Troops' Presence

AU2406125289 Sofia BTA in English
1218 GMT 24 Jun 89

["Radnyu Minchev: No Soviet Troops in Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 24 (BTA)—"There have not been any, there are no Soviet troops in Bulgaria," Lieutenant General Radnyu Minchev, first deputy chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, told today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

The general made this official statement on behalf of the Ministry of National Defence in connection with the rumours spread in certain population centres in north-eastern Bulgaria to the effect that Soviet divisions have been allegedly deployed there after the public order offences committed between May 20 and 27.

"No military activity affecting the security of any neighbouring state is carried out on the territory of Bulgaria," Lieutenant General Minchev points out.

He goes on to say that the Bulgarian People's Army units are in their permanent bases and lead a normal training process.

Foreign Pressure on Bulgarian Muslims Denounced

AU2306180489 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI
in Bulgarian 22 Jun 89 p 1

[Editorial: "No Home is Warmer Than One's Father's, and No Sky More Peaceful Than One's Native Sky. (P.K. Yavorov)"]

[Text] Indeed this is true! Anyone who has crossed the borders of our fatherland for a lengthy stay abroad or to stay there forever understands this truth. Some people, after a long absence, manage to find their way to their native shore once more, while others never do.... They realize that one's father's land is a cradle, while foreign soil is a cracked trough, and sense that a foreign land never becomes a homeland, that nothing is dearer than our native land, that even our bones weep for it.

A wise saying has come down to us from ages past: "The place where a man has grown up, that is Baghdad for him." Our own Georgi Sava Rakovski stated solemnly: "Do not despise old customs! Do not forget your father's hearth!"

We ponder on these words now, when we analyze the situation in certain regions of the country, when we consider the psychosis that has seized in its cold, false embrace some of our Muslim fellow countrymen. Perhaps we should immediately recall that in our country every citizen, without exception, is guaranteed complete equality before the law, that all of us possess equal civil, political, economic, and social rights, that normal conditions for a peaceful life and a good living standard have been created for all without exception, and that the Bulgarian state guarantees everyone the right of free travel abroad. This policy is long-term in nature.

No one in Bulgaria has ever—either previously or now—forced Bulgarian citizens to leave their native land. No one has ever done this!

When "concerned" voices from foreign radio stations and insolent agitators address threatening words of pressure to the Bulgarian Muslims, it is good to know that we are all sons and daughters of mother Bulgaria, that even a small native land is great, because it is the only one.... Moreover, we should all stop to think, especially those of our fellow-countrymen who have submitted to the false promises, the blackmail, and the threats of physical retribution, about what awaits them across our border in neighboring Turkey. We know what awaits them: a complete divergence between the promised heaven and the cruel truth, between the falseness of words and the terrible reality. What awaits them is exile, a wretched existence in economically backward regions in which they will provide cheap labor, if they manage to find work at all, because the unemployment, inflation, and poverty of millions of people in Turkey have been and remain now the most characteristic features of the life of the majority in this country.

It is good for them to know that their Bulgarian passports are being destroyed, and that from that moment, at the will of the Turkish Government, they cease to be citizens of their own land—mother Bulgaria, where they have left their houses, relatives and friends, fellow citizens and fellow villagers, their own people. There, in their native region, they have also left the remains of their dead, and surely, as Lamartine says, the fatherland is created from the ashes of the dead.

These days the telephones in our editorial office ring continuously: At Kremikovtsi, at the truck company in Malashevtsi, at "Inzhstroy" and "Sovstroy," at "Energomontazh," and at other enterprises certain Bulgarian Muslims have not reported for work.... This is the case despite the fact that, when arranging his travel documents, everyone must fulfill his labor obligations. Certain of our Muslim fellow citizens also telephoned us to tell us of how they had been threatened and maltreated because they refuse to set off on the road that leads to exile, to a life full of suffering and humiliation, filled with alienation and homesickness. Drivers from the bus transportation system rang us, who have taken out their travel documents. Girl students from Sofia's Kliment Okhridski University, whose parents are Islamized Bulgarians, rang to tell us that they will never leave Bulgaria, because it is their native land both now and forever! We had telephone calls from working people who are setting off to the regions where there are difficulties in agriculture and to industrial enterprises with labor shortages. Their compasses are patriotism, and the sense of duty that bids them to work anywhere where there is now a need for industrious people.

The editorial telephones ring.

The voices, whether worried, confident, or categorical, all insist that the entire truth must be brought home to all of our fellow countrymen, so that they can shake off the delusions that we should help them find the moral strength to resist the moral terror and pressure of the agitators and extremists, and that, together with society, we should put the latter in their proper place. The voices speak in the spirit of the law, in the name of the peace and security of all Bulgarian citizens.

The editorial telephones ring.

From what has been said, I understand that those who have set themselves the goal of striking a blow at the cardiovascular system of socialism and our national ideals will not succeed. Bulgaria is a strong, free, and peace-loving country; strong in its iron will to overcome the temporary difficulties, free and honorable in its lofty national ideals, in which chauvinism and falsehood have no place, peace-loving and great with its noble feelings and readiness for dialogue, and this despite everything!

The vast majority in our country know that no home is warmer than one's father's home, and no sky more peaceful than one's native sky.

Let us get down to work then!

Protest Against Arrests of Citizens in Turkey

AU2306173489 Sofia BTA in English
1713 GMT 23 Jun 89

["Gross Violation of International Norms"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 23 (BTA)—Speaker of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed the BTA that the Bulgarian citizens Sevdalin I. Marinov and Khikhat Velinov were reported to have been arrested by the Turkish authorities and sent to the prison in Edirne. Availing themselves of the recent changes of the Bulgarian legislation allowing free travel abroad, the Bulgarian citizens were paying a visit to Turkey.

Similar was the case with Asen Ivanov Ivanov, who, on his way back to Bulgaria, was taken off the train and detained at the Turkish border check point.

The Bulgarian citizens Khristo Stoilov, a TIR-truck driver, and Ivan Dimitrov who was on the same truck, returning to Bulgaria from a trip to Turkey, were detained at the Kapikule border check point.

These acts of the Turkish authorities can be defined in no other way but as a gross violations of the generally accepted international norms determining the attitude towards the citizens of another sovereign state, gross violation of basic human rights and liberties.

Bulgaria insists that the unlawfully detained Bulgarian citizens should be immediately released and safely sent back to their motherland.

Communists Urged To Influence Fellow Muslims

AU2306181889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 22 Jun 89 p 1

[Editorial: "The Communists' Example"]

[Text] Work with people—within the labor collective and in places of residence—has always been the basic postulate of party activities and leadership. To educate man in the spirit of socialist consciousness and to involve him in party policy, to activate his efforts in implementing party policy, but also to take care of his constant development and education—this has always been one of the main tasks entrusted to the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP].

This issue has assumed particular significance in the restructuring process, in the implementation of the July Concept for the further construction of socialism. It is a priority obligation of the party organs and organizations today to make their worthy contribution, contribute so that the ideas of restructuring may be adopted by all men, so that these ideas may become everyone's conviction, and hence—become a source of inspiration and an incentive for constantly increasing labor efforts, and a contribution to social progress. However, in order to achieve this goal, we should not only renew our ideological work and get rid of formalism, showing off, and verbosity, but we should make this work more meaningful and restore our close relations with people, which is the most effective method of involving the population in the solution of social problems. Ideological impact upon individual consciousness and behavior will be the more effective, the more successfully the monologue is replaced by a dialogue, the more people are involved in discussing and resolving the current problems, and the more they are treated with respect and confidence.

There has been a certain change for the better in this respect, but it is not a really radical change as yet. This was confirmed also by the recent events that have occurred in some areas, where public order was disrupted, where serious problems in the economic sector have emerged as a result of numerous departures for abroad. It became evident that the relations of party organs and organizations and of other sociopolitical forces with the people were restricted to speeches and social activities rather than inspired by real conviction, confidence, and accurate comprehension of realities.

Under this complicated, ideological situation, we are becoming even more convinced that from now on, the emphasis should be laid on relations with the people, on care for them, on the solution of their problems, on the requirement closely to involve the people in party policy and in the process of national unity. Such an atmosphere should be characterized by a lofty patriotic and labor upsurge, which should be a favorable prerequisite for building up Bulgaria as a highly developed and civilized state, for the defense of its sovereignty, and the enhancement of its prestige.

The support for those Bulgarian citizens who, in spite of being subjected to considerable psychological and even physical pressure from abroad and from extremists in our own country, are resisting with their firm resolve to remain in their native land, Bulgaria, is assuming a twofold, political and humanitarian value today. It is important to protect those who are hesitating and those who have adopted a fateful decision, from erroneous actions, as well as to encourage all manifestations of civic virtues, labor enthusiasm, and patriotism. Today and in the future we should always unmask the true goals of the anti-Bulgarian campaign with the force of arguments.

The example set by the Communists, their ambition to be in the vanguard in all places and at all times, and to involve other peoples in their activities is of great importance. The Communists are setting such examples. The numerous initiatives of additional labor and contribution, as well as the increasing number of volunteers all over the country, who are willing to assist the areas where job vacancies exist, have confirmed this fact.

Party Daily on 'Anti-Bulgarian Propaganda Lies'

AU2406150089 Sofia BTA in English
1355 GMT 24 Jun 89

["On the Anti-Bulgarian Propaganda Lies"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 24 (BTA)—"Certain circles in Turkey are now pursuing a policy of spiritual terrorism towards Bulgaria," writes the journalist Mr Zdravko Raykov in an article contributed to RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

He cites a number of examples to prove that Turkey is now waging a psychological warfare against Bulgaria in the course of which the Vienna accords are grossly violated by actions inconsistent with the norms of international law.

The author recalls that in keeping with the accords signed in Vienna, Bulgaria has amended a number of her laws, enabling all Bulgarian citizens to leave the country whenever they wish for a short-term stay or permanent residence abroad and to return to the country whenever they want. This right to foreign travel is now misrepresented by reactionary circles in Turkey as an expulsion of Bulgarian citizens from the country and their deportation to Turkey.

Collections of articles and brochures of anti-Bulgarian content now appear in large circulations in Turkey. Rallies are organised daily at which the speakers lash out against Bulgaria. High-ranking Turkish politicians attend these rallies.

The escalation of hatred is fuelled by absurd fabrications such as the allegation that "the Bulgarians inoculate Muslims' children to cause in them sterility or paralysis," the journalist writes.

He indicates that the fanning of imperial designs against Bulgaria is an important part in the propaganda hysteria.

"Such spiritual terrorism is particularly dangerous," Mr Raykov writes. He points out that sober-minded people in Turkey itself are aware of this, and quotes the secretary general of the Social Democratic Party of Turkey as saying that "the problem with Bulgaria should be discussed with good-will, tactfully and delicately...."

Commenting on the Turkish journalists' anti-Bulgarian speculations, Mr Velko Krustev writes in RABOTNICHESKO DELO that they are in harmony with the conduct of the Turkish prime minister, "which runs counter to all norms of ethics."

"Turgut Ozal and his party find this propaganda justified," writes the commentator. "Since the crushing defeat of his party in the local elections on March 26, 1989, he has been viewed as a politician passing from the scene. He clutched at the straw of nationalism. Strange efforts, absurd endeavours to insinuate by manipulating the public opinion that Bulgaria is to blame for the suffering of the Bulgarian citizens locked up in special camps in Turkey."

The author of the article quotes some sober-minded Turkish journalists who warn that the Turkish Government wants to lay the blame for all its crimes on Bulgaria.

"If the Turkish public opinion is manipulated, the international community is still aware of the truth that no one is forcing Bulgarian citizens to go to Turkey, that Bulgaria is already accepting back misguided compatriots," Velko Krustev winds up his commentary in RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

16-21 Jun Press Coverage of Muslim Issue

AU2306194189

[Editorial Report] The central Sofia press in Bulgarian from 16 through 21 June continues to give wide coverage to various aspects of the Bulgarian Muslim issue: official statements on the issue and editorial comment thereon; clarifying the legal situation concerning the amendments and additions to the Law on Foreign Travel Passports; continued support by the people at large for Bulgarian unity; reports on Bulgarian Muslims departing for Turkey; and regional labor shortages caused by citizens departing for abroad.

The only official statement in the period reviewed, by Council of Ministers' Chairman Georgi Atanasov to BTA on 17 June was carried in full on page 1 of RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 18 June, the only daily received for 18 June, under the heading "No One Forces Bulgarian Citizens To Leave Their Native Land," and in other central dailies on 19 and 20 June. For example, NARODNA ARMIYA on 19 June, which carried the Atanasov statement on page 1, also published its own 900-word editorial comment on pages 1 and 3, entitled "Unity Makes Strength" and laying stress on the equal rights enjoyed by all Bulgarian citizens, Muslims included. In addition, RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 20 June carried a page 1 editorial entitled "Good-Neighborly, Humane, and Civilized Relations" on Bulgaria's support for good relations with Turkey, in the other Balkan countries, and throughout Europe.

On the legal situation surrounding the Law on Foreign Travel Passports, RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 17 June on page 4 carried an 1,200-word interview with the head of the Consular Department of the Foreign Ministry on the rights of Bulgarian citizens abroad. In addition, OTECHESTVEN FRONT carried on 15 and 20 June, on page 2 in each case, the first two parts (totaling 2,400 words) of a series entitled "Twenty Questions and Answers on the Amendments and Additions to the Law on Foreign Travel Passports," answering queries from citizens on practical questions relating to departure for a lengthy stay abroad. However, RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 19 June carried on page 1 a 1,200-word article by Radoslav Radev entitled "The Folk Saying Warns: Measure Seven Times, and Cut Once." Radev describes a visit to the Devnya region, where he found the local population still confused and worried about the new passport regulations, expressing "fear that the recently adopted changes in legislation on matters concerning the right to free travel would not last for long, and might be rescinded in a matter of days." Radev writes that he spent some time trying to reassure them, referring to Atanasov's statement that "this legislation is not temporary, but has a long-term character." Radev ends his article with a warning to those thinking of leaving for Turkey to consider their decision very carefully.

The dailies continue to publish letters and expressions of support for patriotic unity and of protest against foreign interference in Bulgaria's affairs, but in lesser amounts than in the first period following Zhivkov's statement of 29 May. As typical examples, RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 16 June on page 2 carried 2,000 words of citizens' letters and reports of messages that had been received, under the title "History Has Taught Us How To Struggle and Live;" NARODNA ARMIYA on [illegible] June on page 3 carried three letters from military men, totaling 1,500 words, expressing patriotic support; and the same daily on 20 June on pages 1 and 3 carried patriotic letters and materials totaling 3,000 words under the heading: "Love for One's Fatherland Exceeds All World Virtues," including a 1,000-word interview with Prof Kiril Neshev, doctor of philosophical sciences, on the nature of patriotism, entitled "The Highest of Virtues."

The dailies also carry materials on Bulgarian citizens leaving for Turkey. RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 16 June on page 2 carried a 700-word report, and OTECHESTVEN FRONT on 16 June a 500-word report on the situation at border checkpoints. RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 18 June on pages 1 and 2 carried a 900-word report from correspondent Vanyo Stoilov, datelined "Svilengrad, 17 June" and entitled "There Is No Place for You Here," on unpleasant experiences suffered by Bulgarian citizens who decided to visit Turkey. As a further example, OTECHESTVEN FRONT on 19 June carried on page 2 a 1,100-word dispatch by Aleksandur Krastev from the Malko Turnovo border checkpoint. Krastev first reports his interview with Sulvena Chausheva, who had just been compelled to return with her family, including several children, by the Turkish immigration officials for unexplained reasons. Krastev describes how he and a colleague were permitted by the chief of the Bulgarian border post to go up to the actual border to speak to some Turkish journalists, where he saw the disorganized way in which the Bulgarian travelers were being handled by the Turkish authorities. He comments that "it was quite clear that the Turkish administration was not ready to receive all these people at once." Krastev then explains that he was prevented from chatting to the Turkish journalists by a "uniformed officer, who unceremoniously pushed us back over the white dividing line." Krastev compares the good organization for handling the border traffic and the care shown for travelers on the Bulgarian side with the chaos evident on the Turkish side.

On the topic of regional labor shortages, TRUD on 16 June set the tone by publishing on page 1 the 2100-word decision of 15 June of the Bureau of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council on "Mobilization of the Labor Front," to combat the situation where "a considerable number of people, grossly violating our labor legislation, are leaving their work places, thus causing difficulties for numerous enterprises." This document was commented on in a 700-word editorial on pages 1 and 3 of ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME of 17 June, entitled "Labor—Yardstick of Civic Behavior," which laid emphasis on "the issue of discipline, responsibility, and personal initiative on the part of every person at his work place."

Detailed reports on current industrial production, stressing the need for rigid work discipline to ensure uninterrupted output, continued to be regularly carried by the central press. The widest coverage was given in RABOTNICHESKO DELO and the labor daily TRUD.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO carried the following correspondents' reports and materials on industrial and agricultural production at individual plants and enterprises, on page 4 in each case, under its rubric "Discipline, Order, and Personal Responsibility at Every Work Place": 16 June, 2,000 words; 17 June, 750 words; 19 June, 2,500 words; and 21 June, 1,500 words. The reports, though mentioning some production problems, generally claim they are being surmounted by good organization and strict labor discipline. For example, Vanyo Stoilov's 600-word report on page 4 of RABOTNICHESKO DELO of 17 June from the "Mlada Gvardiya" Combine in Khaskovo states that, although "in recent days labor discipline has been violated in a number of enterprises, and there have been more frequent cases of absenteeism," mentioning that 106 and 83 workers failed to report on two separate days at the main plant, nevertheless "the machines will not stop. The working day starts here with this expression of firm confidence."

TRUD carried similar correspondents' reports on page 1 under its rubric "Organization, Responsibility, Disciple": 1,000 words on 19 June, 1,200 words on 20 June, and 2,000 words on 21 June. A typical example is Violeta Kutiyska's 600-word report on page 1 of TRUD of 20 June, entitled "A Hot Summer for the Power Workers." Kutiyska asks in her report: "How will the present mobility of labor resources affect the energy industry? As is well-known, in certain regions of the country work places have been left vacant, and this has hampered the normal rhythm of production in a number of enterprises, including the energy industry." However, she is able to report that "the necessary measures have already been taken in the 'Energetika' Association to surmount the difficulties connected with the shortage of manpower," the most important of which is that "work and technological discipline will be strengthened." She notes that vacant work places in key areas will be filled by shifting staff about within each enterprises.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 21 June on page 1 carries a 700-word editorial entitled "Civic Duty to Bulgaria" on the especial need for labor discipline at the present period. The party daily urges citizens "to soberly evaluate the objective difficulties and not allow their attention to be diverted from the tasks of the present day, especially when, at the moment, these difficulties are being added to by the behavior of some of the descendants of the Islamized Bulgarians. In some parts of the country, a severe manpower shortage has begun to be felt as a result of this behavior." Under these conditions, the traditional Bulgarian virtue of industriousness is at a premium, states the editorial. The editorial notes measures being taken by workers in Sofia to cover the absences of their colleagues, adding that hundreds of Sofia workers are volunteering to work in the regions with labor shortages, and "many workers, white-collar employees, drivers, and construction workers are already in these regions." The daily concludes its editorial by appealing for a high standard of work organization by managements in industry and agriculture, and for every citizen to respond to the call of duty and patriotism.

Customs Office Works To Handle Border Traffic

AU2406200689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

[Article by Vanyo Stoilov, Khaskovo Oblast correspondent: "Lies Are Short-Lived"]

[Text] Khaskovo, 21 June—There are no fish to catch in muddy waters, but some people are hoping for a great catch these days. I just came back from one of my assignments in Svilengrad and Kapitan Andreevo. The border is living at the usual pace of the season. The flow of Turkish workers from Western Europe is increasing. They are returning for their vacations. The great number of Bulgarian citizens who are on their way to Turkey, however, is rather unusual, but this fact has not caused any incidents, or accidents.

The customs officers at the border check point and at customs are trying with all their efforts to handle the passengers' documents and their luggage as quickly as possible. Their behavior toward everyone is correct and polite.

This is the reason why, Anastas Dimitrov, chief of the Svilengrad customs office was surprised when I asked him: "There have been rumors about abuses of their official position on part of some of your officers...."

He replied: I have been on this post over 8 years, and I have never witnessed the case of a Svilengrad official being tried for any offense. We are dismissing people for the slightest violations of the moral code, even for accepting presents, such as cigars, or a bottle of whiskey. You can talk to whoever you wish, among long-time customs officials, such as Khristo Karabashev, Panayot Shiderov, or Ivan Khristov. So far we have coped with our duties without additional assistance. We are working 12 hours shifts. Employees who are mainly engaged in administrative work are assisting the customs inspectors. It is true that the work is more difficult than usual, because customs officials are handling two additional trains within 24 hours, and people have more luggage.

As of today the Silengrad customs officials will be assisted by seven of their colleagues from the Sofia Airport, who have been assigned here for 10 days. This, however, is not connected with traveling Bulgarians, but with the flow of seasonal transit passengers.

No less persistent are the rumors about the violent death of Biser Khadzhiev, the Khaskovo district imam. This rumor has reached him, and prompted his answer: "You should know, that this is the work of the enemy! I will tell you the same thing I said on television: I am feeling well, no one has prevented the believers from coming to the mosque, no one has ever threatened me!"

The Khaskovo mosque is one of the most ancient on the Balkan peninsula. It was declared a cultural monument. Foreign tourists are coming to visit it, from Spain, Poland, and Italy.... Biser Khadzhiev is now preparing for the great Muslim religious holiday on 13 July—the Kurban Bayram. On that occasion we will exchange best wishes with him, we will sit together at his table. "On that day the home of a Muslim is open to everyone, there is food for the guests and for the family," he says.

Biser Khadzhiev has been the local imam for 30 years. The whole town knows him. He has memorized about 600 pages of the Koran and sincerely regrets that, for reasons of health, he was not able to represent Bulgaria at the competition on expressive readings from the Koran, held some time ago in Iran. His son Ilko is a driver, and his daughter Ana—a dressmaker. Has his life changed to any extent recently? Yes, his sorrow for those who are gullibly departing toward the unknown has increased.

All kinds of rumors are spreading these days with the persistence of weeds. However our people have a very wise saying: Lies are short-lived. This is what Levent Trifonov from Krichim convinced himself of, at his return from Turkey where he spent 15 days visiting his sick brother. The Turkish authorities proposed that he remain, but he categorically refused. Even the most perfidious rumor cannot obscure what a man sees with his own eyes.

Accusations Denied in Text of Letter to WHO

AU2306115089 Sofia BTA in English 2026 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 22 (BTA)—Mr Evgeni Apostolov, sanitary inspector general of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and first deputy minister of public health and social welfare, has sent a letter to Dr Hirosi Nakajima, director general of the Geneva-based World Health Organization (W.H.O.), which reads:

"Dear Mr Director General, various mass communication media in the Republic of Turkey have been circulating incredible accusations against Bulgarian health care to the effect that immediately before they leave from Bulgaria to Turkey, the Bulgarian citizens are injected with a vaccine containing a virus which causes sterility in young women or a virus which may result in death later on.

"What is most perplexing about this is that these slanders are taken up and circulated by the minister of health of the republic of Turkey himself.

"We categorically reject such accusations which are politically motivated.

"The management of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare of the People's Republic of Bulgaria deems it necessary to notify you, Mr Director General, that by the end of May 1989 all Bulgarian citizens leaving for countries with infected areas were required to be inoculated against cholera and yellow fever and to have taken preventive medication for malaria. These measures are consistent with the World Health Organization's requirements for the prophylaxis of these diseases."

"In your letter dated May 6, 1989, you suggest a new type of international certificate (without entering inoculation against cholera) and write that the import of cholera cannot be prevented by administering an anticholera vaccine owing to its low efficacy, and you recommend that its use be discontinued. In compliance with this recommendation, the sanitary inspector general and first deputy minister of public health and social welfare issued an ordinance dated June 1, 1989 whereby the mandatory inoculation against cholera of Bulgarian citizens leaving for any country in the world was discontinued. The inoculation against yellow fever and the preventive medication for malaria were retained when there are cases of these diseases registered in the countries of destination.

"The medical community in the People's Republic of Bulgaria is not aware of the existence of a vaccine which causes sterility in young women or of a virus which leads to death later on.

"One year ago an anti-measles vaccine made by the French Merio company and by the Belgian Smith Kline and French laboratories S.A. was introduced in this country. Women aged 15 and 16 are inoculated with it. The vaccination is administered on the recommendation of the W.H.O. which seeks the complete elimination of congenital measles in the world by the year 2000.

"As to the medical care of persons who have applied for and who are leaving for the Republic of Turkey, the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has organised and is providing trouble-free and highly skilled medical aid.

"Mr Director General, this country is prepared to admit experts of the World Health Organisation to verify those essentially unscientific and slanderous accusations at any time and will give them full cooperation to fulfil their mission in Bulgaria. In this way, the sheer absurdity of these allegations will be proved.

"I would appreciate it if this information is brought to the attention of all member countries of the World Health Organisation."

Glavanakov, Others Hold Economic Talks in Ottawa

AU2106192489 Sofia BTA in English 1806 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] New York, June 21 (BTA correspondent)—Bulgaro-Canadian business and economic consultations have been held in Ottawa at which the two sides outlined concrete measures for the extension of bilateral economic relations and carrying out industrial and technological cooperation. The Canadian side showed interest in the possibilities for joint activity opened by the economic reform that is being implemented in Bulgaria. The leaders of the two delegations—Mr Konstantin Glavanakov, deputy minister of foreign economic relations, and Mr Alan Maclean, director general at the Ministry of External Relations of Canada—signed a protocol. Mr K. Glavanakov had meetings with state officials and representatives of the business circles at which the measures to be taken for the extension of the economic ties between the two countries were discussed.

Visit Montreal, Toronto

AU2406175989 Sofia BTA in English 1643 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] New York, June 24 (BTA correspondent)—A Bulgarian delegation, led by Mr Konstantin Glavanakov, deputy minister of foreign economic relations, which paid a working visit to Canada, attended trade and economic seminars in Montreal and Toronto. The seminars were organised by the Governments of Quebec and Ontario to familiarise the Canadian business circles with the new economic conditions in Bulgaria created by the economic reform under way there. The lively debates and the specific questions asked showed that there is considerable interest and desire to identify more efficient forms of cooperation between companies of the two countries under the new legal framework for economic activity in Bulgaria.

In Toronto Mr Konstantin Glavanakov was received by Mr Monte Quinter, minister of industry, trade and technology of Ontario, who expressed readiness for the promotion of bilateral relations in all fields of shared interest.

Car Industry Cooperation With Yugoslavia

AU2206180089 Sofia BTA in English 1612 GMT 22 Jun 89

["Bulgaria-SR Serbia: Motor Industry Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 22 (BTA)—The activation of bilateral relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and the reforms taking place in both countries create conditions for the use of new progressive forms of cooperation. One example in this respect is the general agreement on industrial, trade and techno-scientific cooperation between Balkanavto (a consortium of Bulgarian companies) and the Yugoslav companies Crvena Zastava and Javor.

The cooperation will cover joint industrial production of car electric equipment, mechanical engineering articles and auto accessories. The Yugoslav companies will provide the consortium with technical documentation and know-how, will organise the assembly of Yugoslav motor cars in Bulgaria, will set up a warehouse for the sale of motor cars on consignment, and will make arrangements for maintenance personnel training. The contracting parties will conduct joint auto market research and will organize customer support service for cars in Bulgaria. They will also work for their joint entry in third countries' markets.

Yugoslav motor cars, car parts and accessories went on display here. The exhibition gives the Bulgarian manufacturers a chance to show their business initiative.

Jakes Report to 14th Central Committee Plenum

AU2206060189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Jun 89 pp 3, 4

["Report on the Activity of the CPCZ after the 13th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee and its Further Tasks," delivered by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, on the opening day of the 14th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee in Prague on 14 June]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! The 14th session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee is to discuss reports reviewing the implementation of Central Committee resolutions concerning scientific-technical development and the engineering complex.

Why do we return to these issues again, after a relatively short period of time? The reason is apparent: these are areas that are closely connected with, and of key significance for, the growth of national economic efficiency and performance, its intensification, the implementation of structural changes, and the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

We live and work in the period of the scientific-technical revolution. Science, research, and technical progress have become a productive force that determines the development of labor productivity and the increase in the quality and technical standards of production in all sectors of the reproduction process. It is precisely the engineering complex, which occupies an exceptionally important place in our economic potential, that mediates on the largest scale the introduction of the results of the scientific-technical development into practice.

The task of today's session is to review the meeting of the targets which we established in this sector. It should result in the determination of specific tasks in the conditions of the restructuring of the economic mechanism, to the fulfillment of which we will have to direct attention in the period prior to the 18th CPCZ Congress, which will then draw up a longer-term strategy for the development of science and technology and the engineering complex in a broader socioeconomic context. We proceed from the realization that we are not implementing the set tasks and achieving the requisite results as regards the application of science and technology and the progressive development of the engineering complex. If we want to keep abreast of the dynamic processes taking place in the world in these areas, we must achieve a turnaround even in this sphere.

As background materials for the discussion of this issue, you have received written reports by Comrades Julis and Hrivnak, deputy federal premiers, as well as other materials. The opening speech on this issue will be delivered by Comrade Hanus, secretary of the party Central Committee.

At the same time we would like to inform you about the situation since the 13th session of the party's Central Committee, about the activity of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, Secretariat, and commissions, and take a stand on the topical aspects of the work of the party and society, particularly on the progress of the process of restructuring and democratization, on the fulfillment of the tasks of socioeconomic development, and on the state of preparations for the 18th party congress. We are presenting to today's session also proposals for some cadre changes, the aim of which is to improve the managerial activity of the CPCZ Central Committee and the federal government. Two and a half months have passed since the 13th session of the party's Central Committee. Although this is a short period, important events have taken place both in the domestic and international spheres. The climate in our society was significantly influenced by the May Day celebrations. They showed that the days of May and traditions linked with them represent enduring values in the minds of our people. They were new evidence of the support of the majority of our citizens for the course towards restructuring and democratization, the internal and foreign policy of the Communist Party, the National Front, and the socialist state. They were a demonstration of friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and solidarity with revolutionary and peace-loving forces in the world. People voiced their desire to live and work in a positive and creative climate and in a collective effort to help in the further development of socialism in our country.

Declaration of an Important Document for Party Work Before the 18th Congress

This stance, taken by the majority of our citizens, has been confirmed by the continuing response to the declaration issued on the 41st anniversary of Victorious February. In statements the party Central Committee has received and which are still coming in, practically all social groups in our society—workers, farmers, members of the intelligentsia, Communists, non-party people, members of social organizations and political parties associated in the National Front—voice their agreement and support for this Declaration. It is especially valuable that these statements are frequently accompanied by concrete pledges that work collectives or organizations want to contribute to the further development of our society, to the overcoming of shortcomings we are experiencing. They unequivocally express the demand not to allow the violation of public order or of the people's peaceful work and, in keeping with the law, to act more firmly against all antisocial phenomena which could jeopardize our socialist future.

We see the declaration as an important document for guiding our work until the 18th party congress. In this connection, it must be critically pointed out that not all primary organizations and party bodies pay sufficient attention to the declaration or sufficiently value its political significance and the corresponding necessity of organizational and mass political work. Its content must be implemented more thoroughly through the practical activity of the party, the National Front, and the state and economic bodies. The overwhelming majority of our people link their hopes with the socialist path of development, the policy of restructuring and democratization. This was confirmed by the conferences of the Socialist Youth Union, the Women's Union Congress, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Czechoslovak People's Party, and the deliberations of the other organizations and bodies of the National Front. This trust of the people must be continuously reinforced by constructive deeds which bring palpable results, particularly in tackling the daily needs and cares of citizens.

We do not forget in the assessment of the situation in our society that a number of domestic political, economic, and ideological factors continue to exist which influence the specific views and attitudes of the people. Justified criticism about the sluggish handling of a number of problems is growing, but requests are also expressed for which there are no available solutions yet. Foreign political factors, strengthening inimical propaganda, continue to have their influence. Processes taking place in other socialist countries are also not without effect. We unequivocally believe that every country has the right to base its policy on its own conditions. However, it is necessary to make use of the positive experience of other fraternal countries and also to learn from problems and negative phenomena which accompany restructuring. The most important thing is that the party was in the lead in promoting changes and that it did not lose control over events.

The attention of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the Central Committee, as follows from the submitted written report, was concerned after the 13th session with securing its conclusions. According to the reactions being sent to the Central Committee, it can be said that the results of the plenum are awaited with great interest, and they meet with a positive reaction, in particular because of the clear standpoints that were taken concerning the national economic situation, on current questions of restructuring, and on the perfecting of socialist democracy. Communists and other citizens have favorably received the principled stand of the Central Committee toward attempts by internal and external enemies who are trying to misuse the processes of restructuring and democratization for anti-social purposes.

The public at large—parents, pedagogues and students—reacted with lively response and interest to the fact that the Central Committee paid attention to the problem of education, its role under the conditions of restructuring, and the restructuring of education itself. In addition to the positive evaluations of the preparation for and the course of the Central Committee session, criticism was also expressed. In many places it was expected that more concrete and factual decisions would be made concerning the solution of individual problems in education, including financial questions, the material and technical base and so on. This shows that all do not correctly understand the position of the party and the role of its organs. The party must realize political leadership; it cannot replace the activity of government organs. The relevant government organs are responsible for working out, adopting and realizing concrete measures to improve the quality of the educational systems. The clear and binding aims of the activity of the Communists who work within the system were set out in the documents adopted by the party Central Committee.

It is necessary to reemphasize the great importance of upbringing and education as one of the decisive factors of the overall level and successful development of society, the self-realization of citizens, and the growth of their political activity. This is why the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 13th Central Committee session must continue to be at the center of attention of party organs and organizations, Communists working in government economic organs, in national committees, and in the entire National Front.

The country-wide conference of teachers will take place at the beginning of the new school year. We consider it to be a very significant political event. It should be an opportunity for a working, democratic exchange of views and experience of the most qualified people who work in this area and for the adoption of concrete conclusions for further progress in restructuring our education system.

Comrades, the basic tasks and requirements of restructuring and democratization were clearly set out. They are the conclusions of the seventh Central Committee session, the document for the comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism, and the resolution on increasing the role of the National Front in the creation, realization, and control of policy; on widening the jurisdication and acountability of national committees; on cadre work; on public information and policy openness. It is the resolution of the 9th Central Committee session on the party's work and the 10th session on ideological work. It is the standpoint on our postwar development expressed on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Victorious February, our attitude to all-around cooperation with the CEMA countries and our participation in the struggle for peace and progress in the world. We do not need to wait for instructions from higher bodies to proceed more enterprisingly, with greater commitment, and in an organized manner, in accordance with local conditions, in the interest of the implementation of the set political line.

After the 13th Central Committee session, the restructuring of the manufacturing, technological, scientific, research, and current assets [obehova] base entered its final stage. From the outset of the implementation of this important task, 1,546 state enterprises were set up by 1 April and another more than 700 new government enterprises are being prepared to be established by 1 July.

Although the experience acquired has been taken into account in this stage, we have not been successful in totally overcoming trends by some producers to maintain a monopoly position and to assert narrow group and local interests. Nor have we succeeded in increasing more radically the founding [zakladatelska] activities of municipal and local national committees. These facts will have to be taken into account in the future and possible adjustments carried out, depending on what life and practice show.

Now the issue, however, is to ensure that the newly emerging organizational structures are stabilized and that prerequisites are created to enable them to being their activity comprehensively and in an organized manner in the new economic conditions, as has been decided, as of January 1990.

From this point of view we are faced with the important task to ensure, in the follow up on the course of the organizational restructuring, the establishment of the party committees so that they will start to operate simultaneously as the state enterprises come into existence. So far, 540 of them are working, and with the rebuilding of organizational structures coming to an end, one can envision that their number will increase by roughly one-third.

It is natural that many of them are seeking their place. We remind them that their principal mission is to coordinate and unify the procedure of all party organizations in the enterprise, to assert party influence on economic management, self-management bodies, trade unions, and other organizations while observing the principle of management of the party's primary organizations by district party bodies or those party bodies empowered to do so. We do not want to create out of them another link in the chain of management within the system of party bodies. The important thing is for party committees to apply an effective style of work as organs of political management, for them to share actively in the preparation and application of the economic mechanism, in carrying out factual changes connected with restructuring within the enterprise, in the development of the activity of the councils of working collectives. Their important task is to prepare the people for work in new conditions and to secure restructuring ideologically.

Understanding and Implementing Economic Reform

Good political, cadre, and organizational provisions for the elections of directors and councils of working collectives must continue to be at the center of their attention. Experience has shown that nothing must be left to change in this respect. It is necessary in doing so to lean on all experiences about which we talked in detail at the past session of the party Central Committee, including the possibility of the direct election of directors and self-management organs by all employees of the enterprise. Where the elections take place through the medium of delegates, they should take place outside the working period. It is definitely necessary to increase the participation and share of ministers in the elections of directors and councils of working collectives. It is necessary to take greater care and ensure that the selection of candidates for the election of a director is carried out on the basis of competition. As far as elections at the lower levels of management are concerned, we do not envision them at present.

For the further course of action it is necessary to transfer the center of gravity of our efforts to full understanding and application of the content of economic reform and to push through its basic purpose and objective. Organizational changes, elections, and the establishment of relevant bodies in enterprises are merely creating the prerequisites for this. The most important thing is, and will be, consistent implementation of the Law on State Enterprises; the development of socialist enterprise; achieving high efficiency, quality, economy and technical level of production; and rational economic behavior and actions. This is so far not receiving enough attention.

To change this state of affairs and to responsibly prepare for management on the basis of economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing, it is necessary to work out in every enterprise and factory a program and order for the implementation of the new economic mechanisms. In this, it is vital to clarify questions connected with perfecting enterprise management, introducing internal enterprise economic accountability, the orientation of technical development, a program of innovation, the introduction of production and finding a place for produce in the market. It is also necessary to clarify questions concerning the social program as well as the preparation and education of the people.

This is the first duty of the management of an enterprise. The councils of work collectives have a great role to play in this. The important thing is that the action of the enterprise in this direction is aimed at responsibly securing the needs of society. It is still being shown that many questions connected with the principles of restructuring, with the implementation of economic tools, management, economic accountability, enterprise, and so on are unclear to the workers. It is necessary to discuss these questions more intensively and, in particular, to make clear to workers and technicians in individual enterprises.

It is necessary to take a critical standpoint on how the founders of enterprises fulfill their role toward them. They all express only the minimum interest in the situation in enterprises and in solving both urgent questions and conceptual ones in the enterprise sphere. We already pointed out this fact at the last session. Responsibility for achieving a change in the activity of the sectors is primarily that of ministers and other top ministry officials. Central organs must show greater responsibility and consistency in creating the relevant prerequisites for the work of state enterprises. This demand concerns economic restructuring as well as a quick resolution of open issues in the state plan for this year. The enterprise sphere cannot expect that everything will be settled by the center again. Also, the fact that some issues have still not been settled does not justify shoddy work, wastefulness, delay in the introduction of economic accountability, delay in introducing order to the reward process, and delay in creating the conditions for thoroughly implementing the Law on State Enterprises.

We must emphasize, in connection with economic reform, that by increasing independence and accountability of enterprises, we are not giving up the principle of management through planning. This is, however, a new type of planning, which is anchored in the principle of restructuring the economic mechanism. The law on economic planning that is being prepared and which will be discussed by the Federal Assembly in the next few days, must be in harmony with this. We must act more firmly against the promotion of group interests and against "improving" economic results by various price manipulations, by unjustified surcharges, by so-called innovations, by limiting the production and assortment of supplies of cheaper goods to the market and so on. This is not a socialist entrepreneurial spirit, but the abuse of the monopoly position; it is securing a comfortable life at the expense of society and consumers, and this is in sharp contradiction to the aims of restructuring.

We also do not believe that the way out of existing problems in the national economy—achieving positive dynamism in its development—is through a reprivatization of socialist social ownership. Instead, we must develop those forms of socialist ownership that have proven themselves during the period of socialist construction in our country. What we support is individual economic activity on the basis of a permit from a national committee and other forms of economic activity aimed, above all, at improving services to the public. The option of establishing small cooperatives to which national committees have given a green light will create new opportunities. This activity also should be directed to the area of direct services to the public and also to the housing area. These new forms of providing services to the public do not mean that the exploitation of work by other people or unjustified enrichment of individuals will be made possible.

The Central Committee Presidium is paying particular attention to the topical task of legally securing the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the creation of legislative conditions for its application as of 1 January 1990. The government and the Federal Assembly must carry out demanding and very responsible work in this direction. Their committees are now discussing draft laws on economic planning, the budget system and budget principles, the Czechoslovak State Bank, banking and saving institutions, foreign currency, the Czechoslovak State Railway, and an amendment to the Law on a Unified System of Socioeconomic Information.

Preparation of a Series of Bills

Work is continuing on the preparation of a series of further bills. The Czech National Council, as well as the Slovak National Council, are exercising their right to initiate legislation for the Federal Assembly and are discussing the principles of the Law on the Protection of the Atmosphere as a norm regulating an important and essential element of the living environment. The governments are working out preparation of important orders which concern, for example, problems of relations between the consumer and the supplier—working out the state plan, financial economies of state enterprises, and other questions.

In this connection, I would like to recall that the work on legislative safeguards for the restructuring of the economic mechanism and other spheres does not end in adopting and promulgating laws. It is also an important requirement that citizens be acquainted with them to purposefully follow their influence and activity in practice so that it might be possible in time to correct what has been demonstrated to be imperfect.

Since the 13th session of the party Central Committee, there has been significant progress in the preparation of the draft political legal principles of the new constitution of the Czechoslovak SR. The party Central Committee Presidium discussed draft principles concerning the social system, checks on the constitutional nature, courts and prosecution, economic arbitration and legal profession, basic rights and duties of citizens, the highest constitutional organs of the Federation of the Czech SR and the Slovak SR and the national committees. These proposals are also being discussed in the National Front Central Committee Presidium. There is an assumption that the first stage of the work will be completed in June of this year. We are considering the fact that in the fall the constitutional commission of the party Central Committee and the National Front will meet to discuss the first set of draft principles of the new Constitution of the Czechoslovak SR.

In connection with the constitution, work is continuing on election laws. It is assumed that a number of other legislative norms will be issued, such as, for example, the law on voluntary associations and on assembly, the law on religious societies and churches, the law on administrative courts, on the press and communications media, on international agreements, on youth, on the capital of Prague, on incentives, complaints, and announcements of citizens and on prosecution matters.

In the past period, a number of important negotiations on organizations united in the National Front took place. The eighth plenary meeting of the Central Trade Union Council was held. Its course confirmed that the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement seeks a consistent implementation of the conclusions of last year's all-trade union conference and that it will continue to take an active part in the fulfillment of the tasks of socioeconomic development by giving broad support to socialist competition, in the completion of organizational restructuring and in the introduction of the comprehensive economic reform, in the enforcement of social justice, and in the protection of the legitimate rights and interests of the working people, including their active participation in the preparation and implementation of collective contracts.

In the fall the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement will enter the stage of annual members meetings of trade union organizations, which will be followed by trade union conferences. Party bodies and organizations must devote attention to their preparation and see to it that Communists among trade union members take an active part in them everywhere.

In mid-May, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium dealt with the assessment of the regional and district conferences of the Socialist Youth Union. We spoke with appreciation about their active course. Their general tenor was one of support for restructuring and democratization. They were marked by the endeavor to fill the work of the youth organization with new contents. The efforts to find forms of work which correspond to the mode of thinking, interests, and needs of the young people and to the new social tasks must continue and, above all, they must be carried into primary organizations so that as many young people as possible become active and initiative participants in restructuring and feel their share of responsibility for its successful implementation.

In their work, party bodies and organizations must continually devote great attention to the youth organization and to the young generation in general. They must know what the vital concerns of the young generation are and they must enhance in the young generation a genuine cult of conscientious work. It is essential to responsibly bring up a young generation that is dedicated to socialism, to give young people a chance, to support their initiative, but not to force oneself upon them. Even young people must not get anything for free but everything they get must be a product of their own effort. Communists working in the Socialist Youth Union are facing a highly responsible task—to secure, together with other members of the youth union, a good preparation for the national conference of the Socialist Youth Union, which the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee convened for November this year.

In the last few months, annual members meetings and conferences of the Czechoslovak People's Party and the Czechoslovak Socialist Party were also held. They confirmed once again that these parties endorse restructuring and want to take an active part in it.

In our relationship with other political parties we must consistently implement the resolution of the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee and systematically reinforce alliance and cooperation with them within the framework of the National Front. it is necessary to hold more frequent meetings with representatives of these parties, to give them support, and not to be afraid of assigning able functionaries and members of the these parties to managerial posts. This is one of the fundamental ways of increasing their share of responsibility for socialist development.

The Congress of the Czechoslovak Union of Women will open on Friday [16 June]. It was preceded by annual members meetings, conferences, and congresses in the two republics. Their course demonstrated that our women actively support party policy. In the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat we recently discussed a report on the assertion of women in society. It confirmed that we must approach the improvement of the conditions under which women work and live far more energetically, that it is necessary to make their role in the family and in raising children easier. We must also more resolutely and purposefully utilize women in leading positions and increase their role in the management of social affairs, all the more so as the present state of affairs is still far from satisfactory.

Altogether, one must appreciate the active relations and support which the organizations united in the National Front expressed and continue to express for the declaration on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of Victorious February. It is exceptionally significant that the National Front, which represents a great revolutionary advantage of our people, might develop fully as an actual social political movement. It requires us to consistently return to the conclusions which were adopted in connection with the activation of the National Front, and the organizations united in it, in February 1988 and, above all, to implement them consistently.

An important direction for developing the process of restructuring and democratization is the implementation of an open policy and deepening public information. The mass media has an exceptional role in this. It is necessary to appreciate the work being done in this direction by workers of the party press, television, radio, other newspapers and magazines. The demands on their work are also growing. However, their responsibility for the stands expressed concerning our past and present is increasing. They must be aware that as continually greater numbers of people become involved in the realization of changes in the political, economic, and social spheres, a wide range of views, approaches, demands, and expectations comes into being about the process of restructuring and democratization. From this viewpoint, it becomes more important for the media to not only mirror present history and to express public opinion, but also to influence this opinion, to help form it, to find the correct answers to complicated questions of the day so that they will activate the citizens into participation in public life in fulfilling the tasks of socioeconomic development. It is very important that they strengthen the conviction in people that we will be equal to the tasks and we will solve the problems if creativity, initiative, social involvement, and the sense of duty increase everywhere. In this direction they should continually bring more positive examples.

The media workers cannot remain isolated in fulfilling their tasks. It is necessary to reemphasize the vital need for close cooperation between officials and workers of the party apparatus with editors of the party press in particular, but also with other media of mass information and propaganda. It is vital to be in close contact with them, to inform them about current questions of party policy, to arm them with the necessary facts and arguments. It is equally necessary for management workers, whether in party or state economic and social organs, and for organizations themselves, to take care that the public is informed at the right time and for them to regularly speak in the media on current political questions, on problems for which they are responsible.

We must continue to take into account that it is not likely that the program of restructuring and democratization will be realized under ideal and calm conditions. We are also faced with great pressure and direct attacks from outside. Attempts to misuse the closing document of the Vienna follow-up meeting against us are appearing, as shown by the Information Forum in London and the conference on the human dimension which is under way in Paris. Bourgeois propaganda is making considerable effort to contribute to spreading skepticism and doubt about the future of the construction of socialism and about socialism as a social system. We can counter this by not allowing ourselves to be diverted from the course we have set out upon. By going on to the political and ideological offensive, we will also develop dialogue with the people, and we will increase the effectiveness of mass political work. We will be consistent in realizing the intentions set out, and decisive in solving ripe problems on which the enemy forces often parasiticize, and we will give timely answers to current questions. Naturally, anywhere that violation of public order, the law of our state, and antisocial acts take place it is necessary to take decisive steps. We must be able to defend our socialist social system. This is what the absolute majority of our citizens demands.

A few words about church policy issues. Talks were held in April between a Czechoslovak Government delegation and a delegation from the Vatican. Certain signs of a more flexible attitude on the side of the Vatican representatives were observed. Both sides succeeded in reaching an agreement on filling the vacant bishoprics in Litomerice and Olomouc and the post of archbishop in Trnava. In addition, the Vatican delegation submitted proposals to fill the vacant posts in the dioceses in Nitra and Spis, which the relevant Czechoslovak authorities are examining. Overall, however, it is necessary to say that the Vatican persists in its hardline attitude. The discrimination against clergymen associated with Pacem in Terris continues. Some forces speculate that, as a consequence of developments taking place in socialist countries, the Vatican might succeed in turning the church into an influential political factor destabilizing the socialist social system.

One has to see this and continue all the more consistently in carrying out our policy toward believers and churches in the spirit of our Constitution. Believers are proper citizens of our country and enjoy equal rights. Obstacles are not placed to their meeting their religious needs. A large part of the clergy appreciate this and take a positive or loyal attitude toward socialist society and the state. What we will not tolerate, however, is the activity of illegal church structures. Their concern is not religion but rather the misuse of it for political aims which run counter to the interests of the believers themselves.

Emphasis on the Fulfillment of the Tasks of the State Plan

Comrades, we have stressed on more than one occasion the importance the fulfillment of the tasks set in the state plan and the support given to it by the working people has for the success of restructuring and the speeding up of social and economic development. In the next few days, the Federal Assembly will debate a report to be submitted by the federal prime minister on the state of our economy and our intentions. At the same time, a report will be submitted on the summary of the CSSR state final accounts for 1988. This report assesses the attained level of management and signal certain unfavorable development trends which will have to be resolutely countered. The fact that the management of the federal budget during the past year did not end in a deficit but in a surplus of income over expenditure, which made it possible to subsidize the budgets of our two republics and to ensure the balance of all three state budgets—that is, both the federal and the two republican budgets—is undoubtedly a stabilizing factor in view of present internal and international conditions.

It is necessary, however, to realize that the financial and budgetary balance was achieved by the adoption of a number of special measures of a restrictive character in the field of expenditure. We have had to draw more from the contingency reserve fund of the state plan and the state budget. To finance some development intentions and additional factual measures in the national economy—including extraordinary feed imports as a result of the inordinate growth of meat consumption—it was necessary to make use of foreign credits in convertible currencies. I think that there is no need to emphasize how dangerous it would be to continue along this line without substantially raising the efficiency of our economy and establishing realistic prerequisites for its balanced development, primarily on the basis of our own dynamic and intensive generation of the requisite resources and their rational utilization. The following basic rule applies also to the financing of the national economy, as it applies to each family budget: Living beyond one's means, spending more resources than generated by one's own work, and borrowing in the hope that the situation will improve some day—this all means creating for oneself even bigger problems in the future.

I am saying this because by the end of last year our gross foreign debt reached the sum of approximately $6.7 billion. Granted, by this we rank among the least indebted socialist countries because repayment of these credits represents for the time being sustainable 10 percent share of our exports to capitalist countries. However, it is impossible to ignore the existing attempts of both the enterprise sphere and branch ministries to increase this indebtedness further, as well as the somewhat carefree attitude as regards the duty to repay these funds. The government and other relevant institutions, especially the State Bank, must actively and emphatically resist these attempts. It would be short-sighted to concentrate on the drawing of external resources in a situation when our assets, especially those in developing countries is steadily growing, a surplus for which it is impossible to import goods, technologies, and materials which we inevitably need. The structure of Czechoslovakia's claims abroad, from both the territorial and the qualitative viewpoints, simply does not allow us to make use of the fact that the CSSR's net indebtedness is nonexistent and that, in overall terms, we are the world's creditors.

We must consistently proceed from this reality in managing our economy in the current year and in preparing our development targets for the Ninth 5-Year Plan. Above all, we must try to tackle the problems we are encountering every day in carrying out structural changes, in the process of intensification, in capital investment, in the field of costs and the provision in the home market with the utilization, above all, of individual potential and reserves, the skill and abilities of our working people who must be given broad scope for their initiative. Although we expect a great deal from the new economic mechanism, we must not wait for 1 January 1990. In any case, even after that date, things will not move by themselves, automatically, without putting in systematic, great effort and creative work.

The first half of the current year is coming to a close. The chief trends in the fulfillment of social and economic tasks are yet to be analyzed in detail. On the basis of preliminary results for the first 5 months, one can say that in comparison with past years certain positive indications have been manifested, in particular, in the development of costs and consumption in manufacturing processes and the creation of profits by enterprises. This is having a favorable reflection in national income, which is now growing faster than envisaged by the annual operational plan, but which is far from attaining the intentions established in the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

It is not yet possible to judge whether this is a more enduring shift in the fulfillment of qualitative plan indicators. A number of long-term shortcomings persist in economic development. We have not succeeded in achieving progress in tackling basic problems which will influence stable and balanced economic development.

These issues were already spelled out in the government's policy statement, to which the Central Committee has given its full support. The attention of the broad public is continuously focused on its implementation. Naturally, one cannot expect an immediate solution to all the shortcomings that have accompanied our development for a long time. We must also not weaken our concentration on the conclusions adopted, and we must aim to create the conditions necessary to implement them. Governments must make full use of their constitutional rights and competences, not only to adopt resolutions, but above all to control and organize their implementation more thoroughly and to arrive at reasons for the failure to fulfill tasks. The important thing is to make it possible to actually implement the adopted conclusions so that things do not stop at exhortations alone. Governments must be equally exacting toward enterprises and toward central bodies. Therefore, they must make an exacting assessment of the way the government's policy statement is fulfilled by individual departments and ministers so that the relevant conclusions are reached.

I would like to speak in particular about the situation in the home market which has a very significant influence on people's level of satisfaction and attitudes. The party Central Committee Presidium and the government are giving it their utmost attention. The measures adopted in this area have produced only partial results so far. Our experience to date has shown that a thorough solution is possible only if we create the necessary systems and conditions in the national economy. This must be kept in mind particularly when the Ninth 5-Year Plan is prepared. However, it is already necessary to immediately mobilize all possibilities and reserves to reinforce balance on the home market; to increase production of the required consumer goods in the appropriate type and quality by making use of special, that is, military resources. We have to support every activity by enterprises, cooperatives, and individuals. Provincial party bodies and, in particular, national committees can play a substantial role here.

The even implementation of the planned tasks in prescribed volume, quality, and assortment in every economic organization continues to be our most important course. We must develop widely and utilize work in initiative and socialist competition which play an important part in the new conditions where the economic mechanism is being restructured, and it would be a serious mistake to undervalue them as is the case in many places. Economic restructuring does not supress initiative; on the contrary, it presupposes it and opens wide space for it. It would be naive to expect this working initiative to develop spontaneously. The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement is to play an important role here.

A very important demand is to enhance the role and the influence of the working class in the process of political, economic, and social changes which are taking place in our country. Restructuring is in the interest of workers, of all working people. It makes it possible to create the necessary resources to advance the national economy, to improve living standards and to reinforce social security. The active approach of working collectives to restructuring means making better use of working time, the entrusted means of production, good quality work, husbandry, the promotion of reward according to the results of work. It demands initiative and an upgrading of qualifications. The workers in production stages, management and technical intelligentsia are a decisive factor in the growth of efficiency and evenness of production and in improving its technical standards. The results achieved so far do not always correspond to their number. As a result of incompetence and the low accountability of some technical workers, prerequisites for smooth and effective work by workers are often not created. This must be changed with the active support of party and trade union organizations and with good organization and a good pace in work. Production must be secured.

A categorical demand is to more decisively respond to what worries us, to all that in our socioeconomic development cannot stand comparison with current processes in the world and with the expectations of our citizens. We must make progress in the struggle with the remaining shortcomings, whose consequences strengthen inflation and deepen disproportions in the national economy. A decisive prerequisite, and we must be constantly aware of this, is the effective creation of resources. It is necessary to start at every workplace, at every level of management, beginning with the workshop and ending with the highest organs.

On What Are we To Focus our Attention?

We must focus our attention above all on the things which are emerging as most pressing:

First, it is necessary to evenly accomplish plan tasks in the necessary quality and variety. At the same time, we must emphasize disciplined fulfillment of economic contracts, the reduction of expenses and the rational use of supplies.

Second, it is necessary to responsibly secure the implementation of new economic tools as of 1 January next year as well as to perfect internal enterprise management and the organization of labor.

Third, it is necessary to quickly introduce order in investment construction, particularly where production investment is concerned, and to continue investments only where their high efficiency, speedy returns, and harmony with structural changes are proven unequivocally. It is necessary to responsibly secure comprehensive housing construction, ecological projects, vital investment in the infrastructure, and continued support for the "Akce Z" [citizens self-help program], which are part of the election programs of the National Front.

Fourth, we must not allow an increase in debt in freely convertible currency. Acceptance of credit must be consistently linked to creating actual conditions for increased efficiency in Czechoslovak exports to developed capitalist countries. It is necessary to realistically evaluate our opportunities for giving loans and to have maximum respect for the requirement that a return of the means loaned must be secured. In relations with socialist countries, we must ensure that our surplus does not continue to grow.

Fifth, it is necessary to be more demanding in upholding principles in price policy and to prevent the unjustified growth of prices which is not in harmony with the tempo of increasing quality and the useful value of production. It is necessary to form strict conclusions from the violation of price discipline both against enterprises and individuals.

Sixth, it is necessary to give exceptional attention to wage development, to emphasize the implementation of the basic principle of socialist wage policy, the harmony of wages with the value created, the corresponding relation between the growth of average wages and the growth of labor productivity.

Seventh, it is necessary in all sectors in the center and in regions and districts to organize deliveries for the domestic market, to strengthen the balance between supply and demand, to remove shortages of products, to mobilize all resources for the production of consumer goods, including the development of production cooperatives and individual activity of the citizens.

Every decision which is made in this direction must be based on the serious analysis of real conditions and the comprehensive consideration of its consequences in practice. We must take into account available financial, raw material and material resources, the labor force, and the possibility of more effective use of the present production fund.

A current task is to prepare and responsibly secure the plan for 1990. The introduction of the restructuring of the economic mechanism demands a transition to working it out in a new way, to set it out in harmony with the conditions in which it will be realized. For this, it is necessary for all the goals of the plan to be based on the highest possible implementation of economic accountability and independence of the enterprise sphere so that state enterprises take a much greater part than up to now in working it out. For central organs, the important thing is to correctly set the economic tools as the basic guide for setting up economic plans. Specific tasks and limits should be made use of only where they are vital.

I speak about this because in the management sphere, mistrust of economic tools and an unwillingness to let go of the administrative command methods of planning often manifest themselves. More time is needed to ensure quality in its new form. The government expects it to be approved in November of this year.

Along with the preparation of the 1990 plan, work also continues on the long-term outlook and guidelines for the Ninth 5-Year Plan. Proposals are being discussed in the individual commissions of the party Central Committee. At issue are important documents requiring deeper analysis and the clarification of development intentions, not only from the viewpoint of internal, but also external links. An important requirement in this regard is the speeding up of the structural rebuilding of the national economy. We are striving to ensure that structural changes are directed toward deepening the socialist orientation of our economy, toward production satisfying people's needs, toward the creation of prerequisites for modernizing the manufacturing and technological base, including a fuller utilization of the possibilities offered by the international division of labor.

With regard to external economic relations, our basic orientation remains cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CEMA member countries, although naturally we also envision an expansion of mutually advantageous cooperation with advanced capitalist and developing countries.

It is becoming urgent to raise socialist economic integration and the mechanism of cooperation among the CEMA member countries to the level of the present requirements. In this respect, talks at various levels are taking place. Certain decisions have been made, including the intention to create in the long term a common market. At the same time, we must say frankly that this is not a simple process taking place. This stems from internal economic problems of the individual socialist countries and from the different mechanism of management. Czechoslovakia is working actively to apply higher forms of cooperation and to speed up the rebuilding of the mechanism for CEMA activities. In this respect, on our own initiative we have submitted proposals, including a proposal on procedures to create a common market.

We are ready to set about tackling in a concrete way these issues, both along multilateral and bilateral lines. I want to state that our views are in principle identical or close to the views held by our Soviet comrades.

Preparation of the Principles for the Party Program and New Statutes

Comrades, the Presidium and Secretariat of the party Central Committee continued to devote great attention to the preparations for the 18th party congress, both in regard to work on the documents to be submitted to the congress and to the tackling of policy issues, and from the viewpoint of a practical policy aimed at galvanizing the party.

After the 13th session of the party Central Committee, work continued on preparations of the principles for the party program. A meeting of the relevant commission of the Central Committee took place on Tuesday [13 June] at which the first version of this important document was examined. We want the principles of the party program in their overall concept to comprehensively embrace the most important areas of our society's life and to outline the basic trends of its future development in the social and economic direction; in the improvement of the political system; in the development of socialist democracy; in the sectors of ideology, education, science, and culture; and in the development of the party's internal life and political role within our society, as well as in the foreign policy sphere. The draft principles of the program will be finalized on the basis of a rich debate and the conclusions reached at the commission's meeting yesterday. It envisions that after a further discussion in the commission, it will be submitted to the party Central Committee for consideration.

In line with the set procedure, intensive work has continued on the draft of the new party statutes. The CPCZ Central Committee commission charged with their preparation has assessed experience from the application of the existing statutes and prepared suggestions concerning the concept of the new statutes. These suggestions have been discussed by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium. A recent joint meeting of this commission with the Central Committee's standing commission for questions of internal life of the party considered the preliminary draft of the new statutes. This draft responds to the requirements of restructuring and democratization and builds on the tested principles of the party's internal life and activity. It retains and updates the Leninist principles of the revolutionary party of a new type—democratic centralism and internal party democracy—and, at the same time, it expresses some requirements in a novel fashion for the party to be able to efficiently implement the role of a leading political force under current conditions of the socialist society's development. We figure that the draft of the new CPCZ statutes will be submitted to the CPCZ Central Committee as well.

As is apparent from the submitted report on the activity of CPCZ Central Committee organs, the work of the commissions of the party Central Committee was also very extensive. Once again it was confirmed that the commissions are making a significant contribution to the active participation of members and candidate members of the Central Committee and other comrades in considering fundamental questions linked with the preparation of the 18th party congress, the progress of restructuring and democratization and the tackling of both topical and conceptual tasks of social and economic development.

The main inner-party task in the coming period, which requires the whole party to concentrate its effort, is to prepare annual member meetings and conferences. We are expecting these to become yet another important step toward activating the party and restructuring the style and methods of party work. The entire period of their preparation, the actual course and conclusion which they will accept, will contribute particularly toward strengthening the unity and action of the party, toward the broad development of labor and social activity, so that we can approach the 18th congress with the very best results.

The current period is the culmination of an important stage in the preparation of annual member meetings and conferences, as well as discussions with the members and alternate members of the party. Although more detailed assessments still have to be carried out, one can say now that in their entirety, they were marked by increased effort and activity among party ranks. They brought a multitude of important facts and incentives, not only in the work of party organizations but also in higher party organs and various spheres of life in society. Not all discussions fulfilled their aim; in many places they were carried out formally. In all these cases, one must return to these facts. It is an important prerequisite that in party organizations, committees and in member meetings, all proposals and critical remarks are discussed, that actual conclusions are adopted and that their fulfillment is then checked, including pledges by members and candidate members of the party. Conclusions from the discussions must be used in the preparation of annual meetings and resolutions—used to strengthen unity and action in the party.

One cannot disregard the fact that in the party, the Communists' views and discussions reflect some of today's complicated issues. Some members show uncertainty, caused by the fact that one must in many respects change viewpoints and approaches to a number of questions on the further development of socialism and implementing the leading role of the party.

There is also apprehension about developments in the Polish People's Republic and Hungary. There are important changes going on as regards the position of the party in society. We support the efforts of the PZPR and the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party to overcome the difficulties and obstacles to renewing socialism in their countries.

There are also attempts by those who do not favor the socialist system to abuse the efforts to overcome obsolete methods in managing society, to seek new ways to blacken the party and the entire period of socialist construction, and to doubt the values of socialism and its further prospects. All of this, together with laziness shown by a number of Communists and often lack of efficiency in ideological and political organizational work, influences the fact that some members of the party have apprehensions about future development and in consequence show passivity and a wait-and-see attitude.

I would like to recall yet again in this connection that restructuring is being implemented not to weaken, but to strengthen and further develop socialism on the platform of the National Front political system which has been set up in our country in the process of national democratic and socialist revolution. As for assessing our past, the period of socialist construction, our basic viewpoints were adopted at the eighth session of the party Central Committee. We stressed that we have drawn our lessons from mistakes and shortcomings, and we are still drawing lessons; we have condemned illegal practices, and we have carried out rehabilitation of those unjustly prosecuted.

We understand restructuring as a renewal of a Leninist understanding of socialism, a necessary reaction to the new demands of development, a resolute rejection of all that is alien to socialist values and which is part of the development of our society, such as fulfilling the heritage of the Victorious February 1948 in the current conditions. We are also continuing in the spirit of the conclusions of the January party Central Committee plenum of 1968. We lean on all the indisputable accomplishments, on all the positive things that the building of socialism in our country has brought with it. We will protect them, strengthen them, and develop them further.

We will soon recall the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising. Thus we shall enter the period of celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army and the culmination of the national liberation movement of our peoples. The Czechoslovak people at that time set out on a path of historical revolutionary transformation, during which, thanks to the leadership of the Communist Party, it won political power and built socialism in our country. We are convinced that these celebrations will contribute significantly to the cause, if they are aimed correctly, as decided by the Presidium, toward strengthening national pride, patriotic and internationalist sentiments, and the development of creative energy among our citizens.

Under the current conditions, it is becoming important to improve the quality of the party ranks as well as to enhance their activity, combat spirit and resistance to inimical views. The demands on the work of Communists among the people are growing. The complexity of the situation, the demanding tasks, lead some members and candidate members to a weakened attitude to the party, to passivity, and in some cases to leaving the party ranks.

We must not regard these facts passively and indifferently. This is particularly true with regard to workers. It must be said that on the whole we have to reinforce orientation toward work with the working class, which was always a support of the party.

The Presidium of the Central Committee will analyze in depth the causes of problems in the development of the membership base. It is necessary to assess everywhere the implementation of Central Committee resolutions on the improvement of party ranks and to adopt specific measures for further action. We must pay attention to recruiting university students into the party. Analysis of the membership base shows that it is necessary—particularly in the Czech lands—to recruit active comrades into the party from the 45-55 age group who are interested in party membership. In this age group, the rate of party membership is much lower than in the younger and older age groups. The main thing, however, is the admission of young people under 35.

We must pay attention—as has been said at previous sessions—to former party members, possibly readmitting those who work honestly for socialism, actively support the party's policy, and are interested in party membership.

The Flow of Information is a Necessity for the Party's Capacity for Action

To enhance the party ranks, the conclusions of the ninth session of the party Central Committee must be thoroughly implemented and all primary party organizations must be put into action. They are in the forefront of the struggle for concrete promotion and implementation of the party's policy in enterprises, localities, at all places of work. Practice has shown that wherever there is an active party organization, the results are good too. We highly appreciate the functionaries who work at this level of party structure and, next to their working tasks, selflessly implement important party duties.

The managerial activity of all party bodies, particularly of district committees, must be directed more thoroughly toward increasing the weight and authority of the primary party organizations and to reinforcing their independence and responsibility, which requires providing them with a flow of timely information. Information from the Central Committee of the party often does not get beyond the district committee level or it only gets as far as the chairmen of primary organizations, with entire party committees and all members and candidate members of the party having no opportunity to become acquainted with it. This calls forth justified complaints about the flow of information to Communists being insufficient. The issue is to make it possible for primary organizations to respond correctly and in time to standpoints of the CPCZ Central Committee communicated through internal party channels. This is essential for effective political work and to increase Communists' activity and the party's ability to act. Along with this, it is also necessary to improve the quality of information designated for higher party bodies; this information should truthfully reflect the actual reality.

Now more on the work of primary organizations in places of residence: There is no doubt that as a result of deepening socialist democracy, the importance and responsibility of territorial party organizations is increasing, including organizations in homes. This is a result of increasing the authority and responsibility of basic grades of national committees, the reinforcement of independence in the activity of primary elements of the National Front's organizations, the importance of trade and services and also the political activity of various groups. From this viewpoint, experience has shown that it is necessary to reassess the participation of registered Communists in party work at their place of residence. Their commitment declined as a consequence of the implementation of the 1986 resolution. Therefore, it is being proposed that this CPCZ Central Committee resolution be amended in such a way that party organizations at the place of residence inform, whenever necessary, registered Communists about the situation in localities and that they rely on their help and active participation when organizing political events, explaining party policy, tackling local problems of economic and cultural development, beautifying the environment, and implementing election programs. They invite them to important party meetings, especially public members' meetings, at which important tasks connected with the life and development of individual localities are discussed and tackled. They involve them in political and public work at the place of residence in accordance with the party statutes. They do not include them in party groups, however.

The cadre preparations for annual members meetings and conferences have begun in party bodies and organizations. The aim is to improve the work of party bodies. This requires carrying out the necessary turnover among functionaries so that politically active comrades are nominated into committees, so that a corresponding representation of women is taken into account, and so that the proportion of well-prepared younger Communists increases.

Questions are being raised about secret elections to party bodies. It has already been said that they concern annual members meetings of primary organizations with more than 15 members and all party conferences. The issue whether party committees and their leading functionaries are to be elected from a larger number of candidates will be decided by the pertinent party organization or body, taking into consideration specific conditions. When filling posts of leading secretaries of regional and district party committees and chairmen of control and auditing commissions, it is necessary to observe the principle that a person is to remain in a post for 10 years at the most. In this connection it is necessary everywhere to proceed responsibly when making use of the experience of all comrades leaving their posts.

The present and the tasks and problems we are dealing with demand that we continue to devote great care to the preparation of the functionaries' aktiv. As you know, a nationwide aktiv of functionaries of party bodies and organizations on issues pertaining to the implementation of the party's leading role under the conditions of restructuring was held in Gottwaldov District at the end of May. The aktiv can be assessed as a successful undertaking which met with a positive response from the participants. The important thing will be to make full use of knowledge acquired at this aktiv in the practical activity of party bodies and organizations everywhere.

Ensuring a uniform approach toward party policy and its realization, and making use of all good experience, is an important prerequisite for the implementation of the present demanding tasks. Therefore, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium plans to hold a nationwide consultative meeting of leading secretaries of regional and district party committees on the embarkation upon the period of annual members meetings and on the implementation of urgent tasks prior to the 18th party congress.

Concerning our Foreign Policy Endeavors

Comrades, having as our point of departure a joint interest in strengthening socialism and peace, we paid great attention in the past period to the development of cooperation with fraternal communist and workers parties of the socialist countries and other states. Serving this aim were the meetings between the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and their leading representatives.

Of great significance was the April visit by the CPCZ general secretary to the Soviet Union, the extensive talks with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, a characteristic of which was full unity of views on the topics discussed. Once again, they emphasized the importance of an exchange of experience for further progress in the process of restructuring and democratization, noting that every country makes progress according to its conditions and with the aim of further strengthening socialist development.

Our talks were aimed above all at the further development of economic cooperation, the deepening of production cooperation by way of entering into direct relations between enterprises and setting up joint enterprises and organizations, including making use of the capacities of the defense industry, as Comrade Adamec previously discussed these questions with the chairman of the Soviet Government. Apart from this, we discussed a wide range of questions connected with the further widening of mutual relations in ideology, education, culture, physical education, and other areas.

The process of revolutionary change that is taking place in Soviet society will undoubtedly continue to provide stimulus for us. This is why we followed the course and results of the recent USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow with exceptional interest. In it we see an event which transgressed the borders of the USSR with its significance, as the worldwide reaction to it shows. We express full support for the message of the Congress of People's Deputies, which turns to the nations of the world with an appeal to do everything jointly for the preservation of peace and the flourishing and progress of all humanity.

The last few months have also seen friendly visits to the CSSR by Comrades Erich Honecker and Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretaries of fraternal parties. During the talks, information was exchanged on the policy of our parties, with special emphasis on questions of mutual relations and cooperation in all spheres, including international relations. Emphasis was placed, in particular, on the sphere of economic and scientific-technical cooperation. We agreed with both comrades that considerable untapped potentials still exist in economic cooperation. They concern, in particular, progressive forms such as cooperation in manufacturing, specialization, and the establishment of direct ties between enterprises and organizations, including the setting up of joint enterprises.

With the GDR we signed an agreement on youth cooperation, which establishes a qualitatively new framework for contacts between the young generation of the two countries. We also adopted measures aimed at cooperation in the conversion of the military industry and concluded an agreement on the conditions for increased transit of natural gas from the Soviet Union to the GDR via Czechoslovak territory. With Romania, we signed a program for the further intensification of cooperation and specialization in manufacturing and laid down specific steps toward the implementation of this program. We believe that both meetings, the talks and the adopted conclusions, will contribute to further comprehensive cooperation between our parties and countries.

Czechoslovakia was visited by a number of representatives of communist and workers parties—by the general secretary of the Communist Party of Norway, by the general secretary of the AKEL party from Cyprus, and by other party, state, and government representatives from socialist and nonsocialist countries.

In April, the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee paid friendly working visits to the SRV, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and the state of Cambodia. All these countries are currently solving tasks connected with restructuring economic management and with the democratization of social life. In doing so, they proceed from the attained level of political, economic, social, and cultural development. In harmony with the results of our talks, we will strive, above all, to further expand mutually beneficial economic cooperation with these countries and will seek new, nontraditional ways and forms of developing this cooperation. The relevant party and state bodies will have to devote the appropriate attention to the implementation of the agreed plans and targets. From the viewpoint of the further development of political and economic relations, the visit which the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee paid to the Syrian Arab Republic was also important.

During all meetings, we expressed on our part our full readiness to continue, together with the Soviet Union and other socialist states and peace-loving forces, to take an active part in the spirit of the new political thinking, in the process of disarmament, the development of European cooperation and the creation of a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

The development of friendly relations and cooperation between socialist states is of exceptional importance for the strengthening of socialism both in individual countries and on a world level. From this viewpoint, we welcome the results of the May Soviet-Chinese summit meeting, the first in 3 decades.

The renewal of contacts between the CPSU and the CPC is considered in particular to be a very important result of this meeting. This fact is significant not only for both fraternal parties but also for the whole international communist and workers movement and for the socialist world. Goodneighborly relations between the Soviet Union and China will undoubtedly have a favorable influence on the whole of the Asian and Pacific area and on further improvement of the world political atmosphere.

The recent events in Beijing and other Chinese cities met with increased interest from our party and public. We express the conviction that the Communist Party and the people of the People's Republic of China will succeed in overcoming the existing problems. We wish them success in solving the complicated tasks of strengthening and further developing socialism in this large friendly country.

Questions of European security and cooperation have an important place in our foreign political effort. The conclusions of the Vienna follow-up meeting became a significant impulse for further developing the European process. In harmony with our democratic legal order, we responsibly approach their fulfillment. In this spirit, we participated in the preparation and proceedings of the recently ended London information forum and the Paris conference on the human dimension that is now taking place.

We give exceptional attention to the military political aspects of European security. In doing this, our point of departure is our own historic experience, the geographic position of Czechoslovakia, and the conviction that only by way of political and military detente can we strengthen peace, develop mutually beneficial cooperation, and solve global problems. Our initiatives are aimed at establishing a zone of trust on the line of contact between the states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, as well as joint proposals by the CPCZ, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany to set up a corridor free of nuclear and chemical weapons.

We are actively approaching negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, toward deliberations among the 35 member states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and measures to strengthen security and trust. Evidence of this are our unilateral disarmament measures and a proposal by the Warsaw Pact to open negotiations on reducing the stocks of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. A significant problem is presented by the attitudes of some political circles in the West, particularly their effort to modernize tactical nuclear weapons and an unwillingness to scrap short-range missiles.

The member states of the Warsaw Pact recently asked the NATO countries to consider new realities in the world and to use new possibilities for successfully overcoming the consequences of the cold war. The appeal suggests unilaterally disbanding both military political blocks, and as a first step for achieving this aim, to disband their military organizations. I think that the negotiations which are now being conducted by Comrade Gorbachev in the FRG are contributing to these aims.

Another important step was taken toward developing ecological cooperation of the states of central Europe on the basis of an initiative by the Czechoslovak Government. Important in this respect was a meeting of the members of governments responsible for the living environment in Czechoslovakia and other neighboring states, which was also attended by a representative of CEMA as well as a commissar of the EEC and the executive secretary of the UN European Economic Commission. This meeting brought further suggestions on improving cooperation in tackling ecological problems on a bilateral and multilateral basis and for their implementation on an all-European scale. In harmony with our enterprising approach toward these questions, Czechoslovakia is also active in preparing for an ecological forum which should take place in Sofia in October.

We are relying on the fact the ecological problems will be discussed in the next party Central Committee session.

Concerning Cadre Questions

Comrades, as has already been said, the Presidium is submitting some cadre questions to today's session of the party Central Committee for consideration and decision.

In connection with the essential tendency that more younger and proven comrades come into leading functions in the party leadership and its apparatus and in order that the necessary continuity and decisive fulfillment of tasks which stand before the party are secured, it is being proposed that Comrades Ivan Knotek and Miroslav Zajic be elected as secretaries and members of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat.

In view of the extent of contemporary tasks arising from the restructuring of the economic mechanism, it is essential that the Central Committee has a secretary who would deal only with the economy, which similarly applies in the case of the international policy section where the constantly expanding tasks demand that Comrade Jozef Lenart be able to devote himself fully to their resolution.

We envisage that responsibility for the economic sector, which Comrade Jozef Lenart has had until now, will be transferred to Comrade Ivan Knotek. Comrade I. Knotek has proven himself in all the posts which he has carried out. He is a high-principled and qualified comrade who has good prerequisites to come to terms with his tasks. In connection with this, we recommend that Comrade I. Knotek be released from his post as deputy premier of the Federal Government and premier of the Slovak SR Government.

It is further proposed that Comrade Miroslav Zajic, director of the CPCZ Central Committee agriculture, food industry, forest and water management, and wood processing industry department until now, who has rich experience of work in leading economic and party posts at the district and regional levels as well as in the center, be entrusted, as secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, with responsibility for agriculture, the food industry, forest and water management, and the wood processing industry.

Comrade Miloslav Hruskovic, in view of his retirement, has requested to be released from his post as candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee. In his request he writes: "Esteemed CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, I have been working in the post of candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium since 1970 and as secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium, and member of the CPSL Central Committee Secretariat since 1973. This year I celebrated my 64th birthday. For these reasons I am requesting my release from the above mentioned posts." The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium recommends that his request be complied with. On behalf of the party leadership I would like to thank Comrade Hruskovic for his many years of selfless work in leading party and state posts in the center and in Slovak SR, and I would also like to express the conviction that he will continue to actively contribute to the implementation of party policy as a member of the Central Committee and its commissions and to wish him good health for many years to come.

In light of the fact that Comrade Hruskovic is leaving his post as secretary opf the CPSL Central Committee, the proposal is submitted to recommend for this post Comrade Pavel Bolvansky, until now member of the CPSL Central Committee and chairman of the Central Slovak Regional National Committee, who has the necessary experience and personal qualifications for this post. At the same time, it is proposed to agree to releasing from his post Comrade Jan Gadosik, leading secretary of the CPSL Central Slovakia Regional Committee, who has been recommended for a state post in the Slovak SR, and to recommend Comrade Jan Selecky, until now head of the CPSL Central Committee Political and Organizational Department, for this post.

At the same time, the proposal is being submitted that Comrade Pavel Hrivnak, who in light of his rich experience of work in the enterprise sphere, central organs, and the Federal Government has been recommended as premier of the Slovak SR in place of Comrade I. Knotek, be elected as a candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

It is further proposed that Comrade Miroslava Nemcova and Comrade Jaromir Zak be promoted from candidate members to full members of the CPCZ Central Committee.

In light of the cadre changes we are discussing today, a proposal is being submitted for changes in the leadership and composition of CPCZ Central Committee commissions. First and foremost, it is proposed that Comrade Ivan Knotek be elected to the post of chairman of the CPCZ Central Committee National Economic Commission in place of Comrade Jozef Lenart, who remains as head of the CPCZ Central Committee Commission for Foreign Policy, and that Comrade Miroslav Zajic be elected to the post of chairman of the CPCZ Central Committee Commission for Agriculture and Food.

At the same time, the Presidium is informing the CPCZ Central Committee that it has implemented a series of cadre decisions which are to contribute to the more decisive fulfillment of tasks in important sectors of state and party work. The reasons for these changes lie, first and foremost, in the retirement of comrades—Comrade Zbynek Sojak, who is now 66 years old, and who is leaving his post as head of the socioeconomic department. His experiences will be utilized during the preparation of documents for the 18th CPCZ Congress.

Comrade Vaclav Marek, head of the Economic Administration Department, has also requested to be released from his post for health reasons. He is about to retire. However, I would like to thank both comrades for their many years of work for the party. Comrade Oldrich Blazek, until now CPCZ Central Committee instructor for regional party committees, has been approved as head of the Economic Administration Department in place of Comrade Marek.

On behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium I would like to express the conviction that all of the proposed comrades who will be approved or recommended for posts by the Central Committee will expend all their capabilities and efforts to successfully cope with the tasks with which they will be entrusted, in the interest of the further development of socialism and an improvement in the quality of the life of the working people in our country.

Comrades, the agenda of our meeting is highly topical. We are convinced that the members and candidate members of the CPCZ Central Committee will consider with great responsibility the reports and proposals submitted and that by their rich experience they will contribute to the adoption of appropriate conclusions.

Adamec Report on Economy to Federal Assembly

AU2306101889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Jun 89 pp 3, 4, 5

["Report on the Development of the National Economy and Current Tasks," delivered by CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec at the opening sessin of the 14th joint meeting of Federal Assembly chambers in Prague on 20 June]

[Text] In the policy statement, delivered at the 11th joint meeting of the Chamber of People and the Chamber of Nations of the CSSR Federal Assembly on 8 November 1988, the Czechoslovak Government promised to work out a more detailed report about the state of our national economy. We have approached this important task in keeping with our constitutional duties, in the spirit of the principle of democratization and open policy, as well as the rights of deputies and of the general public for full information on how things really stand. We gave the deputies factual material about the basic problems in the development of the national economy in the CSSR in the Eighth 5-Year Plan. It contains well-known and less well-known information about the main trends in the entire economy and its key spheres. In the interests of objectivity we provide comparisons on an international scale so as to describe positive and negative trends more accurately. The basic criterion is not the implementation of the individual plan indices but the grade of satisfaction of needs. We do not hide problems because we can only cope successfully with future tasks if we come to terms with the hard facts. Much, although not everything has been predetermined for a long time by previous resolutions, particularly those concerning major investments. Time cannot be turned back or stopped. We are showing ways to make optimum use of it by carrying out necessary changes.

When discussing the current economic situation in the Federal Assembly's committee many comments were made, many questions asked, and many objections voiced. On behalf of the government I would like to thank everyone sincerely for their stimulating views. We cannot agree with all of them. Some of them stem from insufficient knowledge of facts, from lack of comprehension, or from misunderstanding. In this speech I would like to assume a viewpoint on those issues that need to be explained or be made more accurate.

What are the deputies' main findings which we are following up? First, it is the people's full right to know what the aim of the policy of restructuring is, what it demands from them, and what it will bring them. Most people connect the aims of economic restructuring with the possiblity of good jobs and good earnings, of good housing, accessible services, and civilized shopping. They want to live in the conditions of political and social guarantees, of peaceful future prospects. They are not indifferent to public matters. They openly manifest their concern for tomorrow. They are not pacified by mere words or repeated promises. They want to get involved, but they demand guarantees based on securities, truth, and credibility. A conviction is growing that simple answers do not exist in the complexity of this turning point period and that the ability to cope with them presupposes knowledge, boldness, and exceptional effort.

Second, the constructive criticism of wastefulness, convenience, and mediocrity is becoming more extensive. The calls for long-term shortcomings to be rectified more speedily are getting louder. The discussions assess the causes of disproportions, poor efficiency, and imbalance. Solutions are being sought. A view is crystallizing that together with the restructuring of the economic mechanism it is necessary to speedily draft a complex program of state structural policy.

Third, the demand is increasing more and more that the situation be assessed in a rational way, through the eyes of all-society's needs, without emotion, bureaucratic bias and narrow sectoral and local points of view; in relations to the past considering the changes of conditions and notions; separating what is permanently valid from what is temporary; drawing lessons from successes and errors; and making a timely identification of tomorrow's opportunities and understanding new yardsticks.

Fourth, interest is increasing in speedily overcoming the features of stagnation, in mobilizing material and spiritual potential, and in renewing the dynamic development of society for the benefit of a more effective utilization of the advantages of socialism. Only on the basis of a positive program of profound social restructuring and democratization is it possible to invigorate the material and spiritual resources of society. Only in this way is it possible to renew confidence in our own potential, in the ability to overcome the accumulated obstacles, and to gain an optimistic outlook.

These stances of the deputies are in accordance with the mainstream of public opinion and also express the government's stance. We proceed from the critical evaluation of the situation in the main national economic complexes contained in the documents from the 14th and from the preceding lessons of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee. We base this on the findings of the draft plan for 1990, the Ninth 5-Year Plan, and the long-term prognosis up to the year 2005. The first variants of these documents were discussed by the government a month ago and we believe that we will present these drafts to the Federal Assembly next year. The presented report represents neither a repeat nor a revision; rather, it is an addition and concretization of the government's policy statement from November of last year. It sets itself the task of contributing to the unification of the views of the public on questions of social restructuring, providing a democratic framework for a constructive dialogue with citizens, and winning them over for the positive purposes of social restructuring. We are realistically assessing what hampers its implementation and what requirements it places on each individual. We openly state what is necessary to do jointly in order to maintain and improve the standard of living and in order to elevate the role of our people in competition with the world.

Comrades, we build on the positive results of the deep revolutionary changes of the last 4 decades. It has been confirmed—regardless of all complications—that the country's economic, political, and cultural advancement creates favorable conditions for further developing socialism and makes advancement easier. The position of man has radically changed. A mighty production-technical base with modern industry and agriculture has been built. Substantial differences between the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics, between advanced and backward areas, and between towns and villages have been eradicaed.

We have invested considerable funds in the construction of heavy industry and for creating energy resources, for creating an extensive scientific-research base, and for increasing the standard of education. Full employment, free education and health care, social security, and comprehensive care for families and young people is typical for our country. We, however, do not assess this success one-sidedly. It remains a fact that insufficient utilization of resources has caused serious problems with management, with the structure and output of the economy, and has slowed down social progress as such. Life has shown that, so far, we have been too slow in removing administrative barriers, in doing away with braking mechanisms, and in abandoning ideas that have become obsolete. We cannot rely on the automatic influence of the benefits of socalism or on the size of economic potential. It does not pay to forget the social laws and the economic methods of management. The cause of socialism is badly damaged by giving priority to subjective wishes, to departmental, local, and personal interests, by overlooking real facts. Excessive centralization of decisionmaking by bodies without sufficient specific knowledge leads to red tape. All this results in great political, economic, and moral losses, above all in the authority of the socialist state and in the trust and support of citizens. At the initiative of and under the leadership of the CPCZ, a program of restructuring the system of economic management connected with the policy of wide democratization has been worked out. The federal government has already taken the first step on the path of implementing important changes in the economic mechanism. The experience of the path covered so far convinces us of the historical inevitability and the importance of this work. We support a strong attack on the problems and we oppose giving in to difficulties.

What are the things with which we must come to terms? What are the main obstacles to social restructuring? Facts show clearly that for a long time unfavorable trends have been appearing in the Czechoslovak economy which prevent its changeover to a qualitatively higher degree of development. The persisting disproportional share of mining, power production industries, and industries needing high imput of resources have inhibited the necessary advancement of processing industries and of the tertiary sector. But as the data put forward show, our national economy and in particular the spiritual potential of our peoples, represent a great resource pool for possible progress. These values can become a springboard for a further advancement in all areas.

However we must not draw false conclusions that we are invulnerable in the economic sense and need to have no worries. We say, with full responsibility, that economic stability can be achieved but only on the bases of correct and timely decisions at every level of management, of making use of the experience of other countries and provided that everybody works selflessly, diligently, and jointly.

Our positive prospect lies in cooperation with the Soviet Union and socialist countries. Only in this way is it possible to defend and enhance the value of our predecessors' heritage and to meet the obligation to the generations to come. What does the exhaustion of the opportunities of extensive development mean? Where does it specifically manifest itself? For a long time we were capable of achieving considerable quantitative increments. Thanks to this we surpassed in growth and in the quantity of produced and consumed output per capita many developed capitalist states. We belong among the biggest producers per capita of steel, coal, cement, electric power, plastics, machinery and equipment, cotton cloth, footwear, meat, flour, beer, and other things.

However, at the same time a disproportionately greater part of production is intended for production use and for capital investments. A considerable proportion of these riches is frozen in surplus stock, too. Similarly, we belong to the European top level as regards the consumption of the majority of standard produce, the basic foodstuffs, cotton cloth, footwear, refrigerators, washing machines, radio receivers, and other things.

Unfortunately, having exhausted the resources and the opportunities of extensive development, the backlog appears in production, in technology, in science, and in the social sphere. This endangers the achieved standard of living, this eats into a common loaf of bread created by the dedicated work of the majority of the people, this devalues the successes of many work places, this weakens the exemplary results of many collectives. Honest people cope with difficulties with the disorders in supplier-customer relations, the unsatisfactory retail trade network, the difficulty in obtaining spare parts, the low reliability of products, and the lack of interest in Czechoslovak goods in the demanding world markets. The majority of them do not link these shortcomings with our social system, but on the contrary with the violation of its principles.

The traditions of an economically, politically, and culturally advanced country oblige us to be an example in implementing the advantages and achievements of socialism, in all qualitative aspects of life and work, and in the quality of goods, whose quality must make them internationally exchangable. Not only us, but all states are seeking ways to enter in the best possible manner the third millennium. Many countries must first of all, after decades, multiply their spiritual and production potential.

In our case at issue are first and foremost qualitative changes of the already created potential. What prevents us from doing this? Where do the causes of insufficient utilization of all assets for a better quality production and for better living conditions lie? In keeping with the proposed law on national-economic planning it is necessary to overcome administrative approaches to management. A task awaits us to push through the intensification factors everywhere, to put to the forefront qualitative points of views, to make use of commodity-money relations and the market mechanism, to create a production structure corresponding to the conditions of our country and to the requirements of scientific and technical development. We consider the winning of people and making people interested a decisive link in the renewal of social dynamism.

The state of our production-technical and scientific-research basis characterizes a profound contradiction between the growing quantitative extent of production and consumption and between the lagging behind of its qualitative standard. The economic potential makes possible the transfer to a considerably higher level of development. However, it does not diminish the complexity of the changes of the economic, social, and political mechanisms.

We cannot make our mark in the world either through the size of our population, or because of extensive mineral wealth, or in terms of the area of our territory, but only and solely through the quality of the results we achieve. This is nothing new, but today it is the exceptionally topical truth. The results over the 3 and ½ years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan [1986-1990] also shows graphically the size of the discrepancy between the quantity and quality of our economic growth, between the inputs and the end results for the national economy, between the reality of extensive and the needs of intensive growth. What is taking place is a quantitative rise, a further expansion of production capacity, and an overall increase in the volume of goods. Can we, though, be satisfied with this when, because of the inappropriate structure and quality and other reasons, we are unable to meet, either through our own production or through international exchange of goods, the growing demands of society?

The details are contained in the information which has been provided to you. I would only like to add to that that instead of an expected rise in gross national income of 18-19 percent over the Eighth 5-Year Plan, this rise will amount only to about 14 percent, which means something like a Kcs 100 billion shortfall in generated resources. We are not succeeding in fulfilling the programs to rationalize production consumption, to save coal, electricity, steel, cement, and other materials. At the same time in the first 3 years of this 5-year plan we had very favorable weather conditions—two mild winters and two big harvests of the main agricultural products.

The creation of resources is lower than we expected. In addition a substantial proportion of these resources are depreciating in excessive stocks and uncompleted production, in ineffective investment, in underused capacities, and in foreign trade surpluses which are difficult to realize. This is having serious consequences in increasing tension on the internal market, in the inadequate rate of modernizing production equipment, in higher debt, and in further breakdowns in the economic balance.

It is a priority task of the government and the principle of its whole economic policy to better satisfy the needs of the people. One of the main goals of economic reform is to create balance on the internal market. We are in a complex situation. The people are quite rightly calling for remedies, but the government does not have adequate resources to effect any rapid change in the current state of affairs. One target of constant public criticism and justified reminders from deputies is shortcomings in supplying the retail network. There is no doubt that in order to be satisfied, the people need not only opportunities to earn, but also to buy everything they need. The situation on the internal market is very complex. In order to improve it we have put into effect some contingency measures. We managed to overcome the panic-buying at the end of last year and to supply the retail network with the goods that had disappeared from the shop counters in the fall. The choice of color televisions has improved, and beginning next year there will be substantially more refrigerators and freezers. In order to gradually eliminate bottlenecks in certain types of goods, we will create the conditions together with the Czech and Slovak Governments, including greater economic incentives for the enterprises. Surmounting the gap beween supply and demand is not a matter of on-off emergency measures, but of positive results throughout the national economy.

At the same time there is considerable room for improvement in the initiative, enterprise, and interaction of production and trade organizations. We are convinced that it is within the powers of our economy to raise the capacity of the engineering and other industries for the production of consumer goods. On the basis of greater exports, we will gradually raise the share of imports in supplying our internal market. The way to achieve this is shown by the initiative of enterprises in the South Moravian Region, aimed at making better use of all forms and possibilities to contribute, through joint efforts between the production and trade sector, to greater levels of supply.

Comrades. When assessing the current economic situation, we are looking for reasons, for ways out and for efficient tools to effect necessary changes and this was typical also for discussions in the Federal Assembly committees. They rest in the change of internal and—mainly—external conditions. Is it, or is it not, in our power to solve the key problems in a short or a longer period? We understand this and other questions as a sign of real interest and real care by people about the future of their families, the future of the socialist homeland. We want to answer them truthfully, without embellishment, without excuses or apologies.

We have reacted to the demands of citizens to tackle more decisively the problems that make life and work more difficult by speeding up the preparations to restructure the economic mechanism. Shortening the transitory period by 1 year has been welcomed. This decision however cannot be understood as a miraculous recipe for doing away with all difficulties in changing over from one period of management to another. This would be simplification and misunderstanding. Each new mechanism must be implemented and turned-up; people must get used to thinking and acting in a new way. No guidelines can substitute for this.

A more fundamental improvement of the economic situation can take place only during the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

When implementing the aims of its policy program, the government has dealt with many basic issues and also partially with others. It is neither possible nor useful to list them all. The task that we have taken up on us looks, after 8 months, bigger and more difficult than it seemed at the begining. We are objectively assessing the course of restructuring covered so far. The decision to speedily apply the new economic mechanism requires timely, well-thought out, and comprehensive creation of the necessary legislative conditions. It is not only the scale and time limit of the tasks that is special, but also the submission of 20 new laws to the Federal Assembly and issuing around 120 other legal provisions. What is special is the required standard of their quality. I agree that the most important yardstick of the government's work is above all its objective contribution to the changes in practice that has prevailed hitherto.

The successful implementation of restructuring the economic mechanism depends on linking the forces of the united managing center and the enterprise sphere. It is not a single unrepeated task. Jurisdiction was approved and some bodies start to work in a new way. In the interests of making the federal government's work more effective, a certain shift has been made in the management of certain areas. We see as one of the weakest links the work of branch bodies. We know that the changeover to the new system of management is not simple, that reduced apparatuses still try to establish their positions and their methods of work. However, we cannot give in on the issue of increasing the requirements on the ministries and demanding their full accountability in creating prerequisites for their efficient management. On the contrary, the government will check them even more thoroughly than hitherto. The departments will have to influence more actively the creation of an exacting atmosphere and equal conditions for front-ranking enterprises and make it possible for all enterprises to implement progressive programs flexibly and to help the weaker ones to consolidate their economies.

We criticize the efforts of some central bodies to limit the enterprises' authority by unjustified administrative interference. On the other hand, they cannot be cleared of the responsibility for satisfying the needs of all society and they cannot passively watch cases of violating the law on state enterprises.

It is in the work of collectives and nowhere else that the pace and fate of restructuring itself is being decided. State enterprises bear the full responsibility for the results of their work. Society must not pay for bad management by repeated disturbances, increased costs, or popular dissatisfaction. We decided that the founders should send trained groups of workers to selected state enterprises to help the economic management of the enterprise to prepare to change over to the new conditions, especially the introduction of full financial autonomy.

Much has been said recently about the disproportionate numbers of employees in management. The policy of lowering and at the same time making cheaper and improving the quality of the states apparatus, which we embarked on, will not be a short-term campaign. The 30 percent reduction of the apparatus of the central bodies reduced administration costs, but it did not increase actual production. Many people retired on pensions and some transferred to the administration of other organizations. We are standing at the beginning of the path, along which, after we have evaluated the experiences and results, we wish to continue, but not by fixing the numbers of workers, but first and foremost by reducing wage costs. We are convinced that the efficiency and responsibility of the entire state administration can be raised with a lower number of highly qualified workers, who are well paid for this.

How is the organizational restructuring of the production-technical, scientific-research, and marketing base proceeding? By approving a further 700 state enterprises by 1 July this year, some 2,300 new enterprises will be established. The implementation of such a major intervention in a comparatively short space of time was, of course, not without difficulties and some mistakes. The proportion of small and middle-size enterprises did not grow, but by creating large units, around 50 percent of the original enterprises lost their legal status. In the case where the objectives were not understood and sectoral viewpoints were pushed through, we will rectify things. In order to create better conditions for the work of local production and services enterprises with few workers, the government has already approved the simplified rules of planning and financing which are reducing the administrative complications.

The new wholesale and cost prices have been in force since 1 January 1989. We know that they have not yet reached the desired level. However, they showed a dividing line between the front-ranking producers and those lagging behind. They provided an opportunity for all to prepare this year for management in conditions where those below average will not be able to cope and the average must do its best so as not to end up badly. We will continue to fix prices more objectively in accordance with the program to continuously rationalize them. They should actively promote the renewal of the balance between production and consumption. We will complete the restructuring of tariffs and prices in freight transport, communications, and in surcharges for foreign trade enterprises. We are beginning to abolish the limits and the amendments to prices for diesel oil. We are preparing a new pricing system in the construction industry, particularly in relation to maintenance and modernization. On more than one occasion we have been asked whether the policy of stability of retail prices is in keeping with the new economic mechanism. The government is aware of the political weight and the traditional social guarantees. We are building on them and we intend to continue to enhance them in keeping with the created resources.

We are aiming efforts at the fact that they should support and incite creativeness, initiative, and honest work in a better way than they have hitherto. However, we will not allow them to be abused contrary to the interests of society, so that parasitism to the detriment of conscientious and dedicated people is possible. Even with the policy of stable prices for basic goods, the overall level of the nominal retail prices has increased by 11.3 percent in the last 8 years. However, the growth of average prices, which amounts to 16.1 percent in the case of foodstuffs and to 16.8 percent in the case of consumer goods, is faster.

Since 1981, the share of cheap products in the range of textiles and clothings has fallen from 41 percent to 24 percent. In children's goods last year, this share was not even 1 percent of supplies. On the other hand, however, we are not even seeing adequate satisfaction of the demand for genuinely high-quality, fashionable, and luxury goods which meet the requirements of people with higher incomes. We consider the public criticism of the inadequate choice of goods in all price categories to be justified, and we are gradually changing that situation.

It is particularly important to provide families with children and pensioners with goods in acceptable price categories, through the tasks of the state plan and with the aid of economic levers. We expect active public support in the struggle against unjustified and concealed increases in retail prices.

One of the most complex problems of the transition to self-financing is the high level of state subsidies. Following the restructuring of wholesale and procurement prices, the total of these subsidies will represent about Kcs 90 billion per year, two-thirds of which are on food production. We believe it right that the public should know what is being subsidized and why. We will consult the people on ways of tackling these sensitive matters, and exchange information with them.

Finance policy is occupying one of the leading places in our attention. Without improving financial relations—prices, wages, levies, credits and taxes, we cannot guarantee the success of economic reform. We consider a change of approach in managing finances to be a particularly important issue. It has become the habit to rely on obtaining financial limits, to count beforehand on financial backing for undertakings, not to worry too much about high costs, to overlook gross violations of financial discipline, and to look on loss-making ventures as something quite normal. In recent years the increase in money in circulation has been exceeding the rate of increase in national income. We cannot continue with this kind of policy. The objective of our finance and monetary policy will be to assert the criteria of monetary balance and currency stability in all sectors. We must weigh up thoroughly where investments will produce the greater benefit. Together with strengthening control of the Kcs we must shift toward active management of the Kcs. Even though we have managed to draw up a budget bill which is balanced, we are mindful of the possible risks of the future. We can only face up to these through strict adherence to, and, if need be, by extending austerity measures.

Work is currently under way on altering the relations between the unified center and the economic organizations, particularly between the methods of shaping the state apparatus and of promoting the government's economic policy and the routine direction of the way in which the economy develops. In terms of time, there are prospects that the adopted timeframe for work on speeding up restructuring well be met. We are determined to accomplish these tasks in the promised deadlines even though this is not easy. We are answering the justified demands of economists, and party and trade union officials to enable them in good time to prepare for the conditions of resource management from 1 January 1990. We can say that beginning from the second half of this year, 70-80 percent of the necessary information will be available in the enterprises. We are using the media to provide information about the content of government documents, particularly by means of regular statements by government members. In addition, a broad network of training sessions will be organized at all levels of management in the party, economic, and trade union bodies in order to explain these matters.

Comrades. We will advance neither on the central nor on the local level without innovation and modernization in all areas of the economy important for the future. We cannot continue with random, partial, and uncontrolled change. We need a unified strategy of structural policy. We are taking the first steps toward forming such a strategy in preparations for the Ninth 5-Year Plan. The assessment of the content, the manner and pace of this restructuring represents one of the most complicated and for the future most serious decisions we have to make.

What is in our view the essence and the main aim of so complicated and difficult structural changes? First, the creation of prerequisites for a greater creation of resources, their most effective utilization through intensification. Czechoslovak society needs to enter the next millenium with a more efficient production base. It must be able to make maximum use of the qualifications of the working people and of natural resources, be able to secure the supply of necessary raw materials by exporting goods that are able to withstand competition, and be able to satisfy the domestic market with an adequate assortment of goods. All this must be achieved and at the same time the requirements for a more healthy environment, greater ecological purity of technologies, and overall ecological security of our country and of neighboring countries must be observed.

Changing economic structures is nothing special in the world. It is a natural necessary reaction to the achieved level of development of production forces in individual countries and on an international scale. Our own experience in this area is thus far small. Therefore we pay close attention to the thorough readiness of central bodies, of national committees, and enterprises. The implementation of these serious changes must take place within the framework of a division of resources because we have no reserves and we do not want to live on credit.

It is expected according to first, not quite complete, assessments that in the Ninth 5-Year Plan about Kcs 70 billion will be spent from central funds on development, ecological, and transportation programs alone. A lot will also be spent on tackling social problems connected with retraining, creating new jobs, and other measures. The current state of affairs is artificially maintained by strong interests of individual branches and often also by political pressure. A long-term lack of ability of central bodies to set and promote necessary attenuation programs is becoming clear in spite of the fact that on several occasions they have been given this task. Structural restructuring is equally important and I do not hesitate to say equally revolutionary as the introduction of new economic mechanisms. It relates to the deep changes between fundamental sectors after 1948, when hundreds of thousands of people went over from agriculture to industry, when the importance of processing industries, particularly heavy industry, substanially increased. The start of these changes cannot be delayed. We relate it not only with restructuring the economic mechanism but also with improving the quality of cadres in all managerial elements, with educating a new generation of socialist enterpreneurs in production, trade, and the world of finance.

The beginning of the nineties will be the time of structural changes and of technical changes in the production sphere. The government will discuss the draft Ninth 5-Year Plan this year. They will also reevaluate the plans for economic structures in a number of regions, including Prague. We know that this is a serious encroachment upon the life of the working people and of the development of districts, villages, and cities. Therefore, we shall inform you in a timely manner about our plans.

Immediately following structural changes in industry is a strengthening of the tertiary sector. This is a task for all society. Overcoming the disharmony between the size of the industrial sector and the inadequate provision of services will be reflected favorably in the standard of living and people's lifestyles. However, so far there is only slow progress in altering the simplistic view that the tertiary sphere is a loss-making area. Developments in the world show that services not only pay for themselves, but can also produce great revenue for state budgets. We expect the shedding of manpower from inefficient industrial production plants and from administrative jobs to contribute to all forms of entrepreneurship. It is estimated that the number of workers in this area could grow by the year 2005 by as much as 1 million.

Comrades, we are paying great attention to tackling the serious problems of capital construction. This is the main tool for creating a dynamic balance in the national economy and for carrying out the essential structural changes. Nonetheless it is also one of the least effective features in this 5-year period. The serious situation which has existed for a long time in this sector is the subject of very critical discussion in management bodies, in specialists circles and also among the public. In the past it has been the custom to finance from the state budget even projects which do not offer the prospect of any substantial benefit to the national economy and society as a whole. Through the pressure of subjective wishes by individuals, economically unjustified projects have also worked themselves into the plan. Such pork barrel projects, if I can use that term, abound in our towns and villages. Checks carried out on selected projects show that these building projects are being brought into operation late, they tend to be already technically obsolete, and they do not meet their planned parameters.

Furthermore new capacities are not always provided with manpower, materials, or even a profitable outlet for their products. We are still coming across situations where adequate consequences are not being applied even in demonstrable cases of violation of state discipline. Laxity prevails and personal courage is also lacking. According to the annual plans, investment for the years 1986-1988 was supposed to remain stable, but in fact, primarily as a result of the great increase in building projects in the agricultural sector, it has grown by almost 11 percent. It is evident that earlier resolutions are not producing the expected results. We are not satisfied with this state of affairs, and we are taking specific remedial steps. The government has decided, with effect from 15 May this year and until 31 December, to temporarily halt the initiation of all construction projects with the exception of environmental ones, comprehensive housing construction, selected refurbishment and modernization projects, and the Z-project [self-help community improvement program]. We estimate that this resolution will affect between Kcs 22-25 billion worth of budgeted costs of planned construction projects that were due to begin in 1989. We see this as an initial step in the endeavor to achieve the prompt completion of building projects. At the same time we have instructed all central bodies to review the urgency, effectiveness, and provision of capacity and finance for all uncompleted building projects to reduce investment costs, stop problem-ridden projects, and on this basis to use the resources and capacities thus released to boost effective projects already initiated as well as for modernization.

The level of investment in our country is on a par with the advanced countries, but the overall effectiveness of the funds invested is very low, primarily because of bad management of the investment process. Decisionmaking at government level and in the other bodies is based on expert opinions, but in many cases they are not objective enough and sometimes they are irresponsible. The effectiveness of invested funds is also reduced by the fact that the investments are not being channeled primarily into those areas where they produce the great benefit, which is the modernization of machinery.

As a consequence of the high number of unfinished projects and lengthy construction periods, which considerably exceed international standards, cost-overruns occur. We have taken practical steps to overcome the imbalance between the demand for investments and capacity potentials. On the basis of the results of the inspection of selected unused projects, the government decided to eliminate the losses on these projects, including the announcement of a competition for their use. Included in the state plan for investment construction can only be those projects for which the availability of the necessary financial backing, in foreign currency as well, can be clearly proved, which guarantee the effective marketing of their products, which have the necessary manpower and raw and processed material resources, and the technological equipment of which has realistic parameters. We also count on a more rational structure of production investments and on the raising of the proportion of modernization actions. I am saying openly that these measures have so far not met with the necessary support, but a retreat is impossible.

The low inefficiency of our construction industry is to a considerable extent the culprit in the increased cost of investment construction. We hold an infamous lead in the exceptionally low utilization of machinery and equipment and we feel all the more the qualification structure of the work force, which is unsuitable with regard to the professions. Because of unfinished projects, low concentration of capacities, and bad organization of labor, there is inefficient use of the work year. In short, we take a long time to do the building; it is expensive and of unsuitable quality. The ways to resolve the shortcomings of the construction industry rest in the reevaluation of the entire conception of the Czechoslovak construction industry, first and foremost in changing the organization, management, and structure of the construction and construction materials industry. The transfer is needed first and foremost from the construction of new projects to the maintenance and reconstruction of old projects.

The industry and the territorial bodies must as soon as possible transfer from building large areas of residential blocks of apartments to the completion and modernization of urban centers. Though from the viewpoint of builders this will be more difficult and will involve more work, it will be more advantageous for society and more beneficial for the population. We should enhance as soon as possible the incentive to save, to replace the suppliers' dictate with competition, and to apply to a large extent by tender. Together with the national governments we consider the improvement of the situation in the construction industry as one of the priorities. Both national governments must quickly carry out an analysis of shortcomings in this sphere and submit the proposals to solve them. The federal government by the end of this year will discuss the changes in the organizational, price, social, and legislative spheres.

The effectiveness of investment construction is to a considerable degree restricted by the insufficient rate of application of scientific-technical progress into practice. In our country, which is not rich in raw materials, the standard of science, research, and development represents a basic link in socioeconomic progress. Do we have a small, large, or sufficient scientific-technical base? Do we spend too little or a disproportionately high amount of funds on it? We need an exact answer based on objective yardsticks, without false speculations and wishful thinking. But what is the reality? On the whole, almost 200,000 people work in this sphere. Around 112,000 employees are involved in creative work, of them 12,000 at the workplaces of the Academy of Sciences. In relation to the number of inhabitants, our research and development capacities are comparable with the developed countries. But if you measure this by the needs of the two-thirds of the world range of goods which is produced in our country, the provision of the innovation requirements of desired standard, is not in their power. This, apart from other causes, is one of the main reasons why we are lagging behind the world by 10 or more years in most spheres.

A number of workplaces do not set themselves the objective of attaining the top world or comparable standard. It is the exception rather than the rule to combine a substantial acceleration of technical progress with a high economic benefit. The increased effectiveness of science and research is also hampered by a general atmosphere of low expectations and not enough pressure on technical levels and quality, but also by the low level of provision of modern instrumentation for science and research centers.

We are focusing on gradually overcoming these long-standing shortcomings, and we are paying attention to eliminating persistent manifestations of bureaucracy and formalism. We are reassessing the state's science and technology policy to make it match the intentions of the restructuring of our society. Instead of dispersal, as has been the tendency so far, we are moving toward the high concentration of financial, material, and cadre resources on the priorities stemming from the main goals of our socioeconomic development. In the interests of achieving an upturn in the development of science and technology, we are drawing up, in connection with our wider involvement in the international division of labor, the delineation of the main programs for development and contraction. This will make it possible to narrow down to a considerable extent the research and development infrastructure, and to concentrate activity of the needs of the new economic structure and on raising the quality of our manufactured products.

In this respect, particularly with the contribution of control bodies, definite results have already been attained. The increase in shoddy production and its associated losses has been stopped. In the past 2 years, these losses have fallen by 11.5 percent. But this does not detract from the demand for all enterprises to judge low-quality work in a rigorous and implacable atmosphere. We are getting to work on simplifying the management of the science and research infrastructure, and we want to create favorable conditions for developing creative activity. Reorganizing the science and research infrastructure in the production sphere has contributed to reinforcing self-financing principles and applying profit-and-loss accounting in research and development institutions. The complex nature of managing the science and research infrastructure cannot be resolved simply by universal resolutions. Full personal responsibility for its effectiveness must be felt primarily by the individual ministers. We have discussed these matters in the government on a number of occasions, and on the basis of the conclusions of the 14th session of our party's Central Committee we will be returning to this problem again.

The management sphere cannot do without profound theoretical analyses, informed research, objective experts' assessments and recommendations which are justified in all their aspects. The success of social restructuring depends to a large extent on the active contribution by scientists and research workers. We are counting on them. We are creating specific conditions for an open dialogue between science and practical life, and for close interaction between the government and scientific institutions in the spirit of mutual trust and of joint creative interests and responsibility.

Comrades! Today more than ever before it holds true that a country's presence in the world marketplace is a reflection of its economic performance. It is not easy for our enterprises to meet that market's strict criteria. Incompetence, complacency, and backwardness cannot be concealed by anything—not even by apologies. We have only ourselves to blame. The contribution made by our foreign trade to the effectiveness of our production potential is still low. The prevailing trend toward making up for the shortfall in domestic resources is helping to maintain an outdated and unsuitable production structure. We must alter this state of affairs as soon as possible. We are faced with the task of significantly enhancing production specialization by much more intensive involvement in the international division of labor. On the one hand, we need a lot of money to pay for big imports of fuel and raw materials, but as a result of limited import possibilities we have to satisfy domestic needs primarily through our own production. By opening up the Czechoslovak economy considerably wider, we intend to alter the structure of our industrial sectors and products, so that it corresponds better to our endowment with resources and enables us to overcome the existing low effectiveness of foreign trade.

We are basing our future plan on the idea that our national economy will continue to develop as an inseparable part of the world socialist system. We are striving to actively deepen socialist integration. We support the introduction of a new CEMA mechanism based on economic interests and methods. We propose speeding up the integration between interested countries. The federal government puts special emphasis on deepening bilateral cooperation with the USSR. This February we signed a framework plan for economic and scientific-technical cooperation for 15 to 20 years. Its implementation should contribute to bringing to life desirable structural changes in our economy, to secure the supply of necessary raw materials and speeding up socioeconomic advancement.

We are also interested in expanding economic relations with advanced capitalist states. We can obtain advanced technology for modernization from them and in this way create competition for domestic manufacturers. Foreign currency for the greater import of consumer goods must be obtained by increased export, not by increasing our debt.

A lot must be changed in the forms and methods of work of the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Enterprises which have a permit to export their goods can make headway only by having a high technical standard and an ability to trade. The unsuitable structure and low efficiency of our foreign trade results in a large imbalance in our payment relations. The active balance, including credit, vis-a-vis socialist countries in the Eighth 5-Year Plan will amount to 35-40 billion foreign currency crowns. This looks favorable at first sight but, in practice, actually means a certain depletion of financial resources. Our overall assets in freely convertible currencies are 100 billion foreign currency crowns. Many developing countries, in particular Syria, Iraq, Libya, and others owe us money.

We are trying hard to obtain outstanding debts whose deadlines have elapsed. It must be said that narrow departmental interests among our producers are also responsible for the unsettled balance of payments as they became used to easily fulfilling export indices by exporting on long-term credit. Enterprises and individuals gain by this but the state suffers losses. We used up material, paid wages, but payment for this has not been received.

This year, in the sphere of foreign trade, the government approved important changes in the system aimed at reinforcing economic principles of management. Central commissions for the regulation of imports have been abolished and a system of planned foreign currency funds for enterprises and their free use has been introduced. Foreign currency accounts have been opened for production enterprises. This year we want to assess comprehensively the experience gained in order to amend the rules for 1990 and after. The new foreign currency law and the reorganization of the field of activity of commercial banks in the foreign currency area will come into force. We do not want to limit the rights of enterprises nor do we want to permit the violation of state interests. We are preparing proposals on how to activate rates of exchange, grants, customs duties, and subsidies to support socially desirable exports and to limit those which result in losses. We favor a balance in relations with the socialist and developing countries. We shall use foreign credits in freely convertible currencies to move toward a qualitatively new type of economy, but only to update the production-technical base. We shall not permit a situation in which our debt becomes a political burden on us and an economic liability with far-reaching consequences for economic development and living standards.

It will be necessary to develop tourism to a greater degree. Our country has great and so far underestimated values in the multitude of attractive cultural and historical sites, in the beauty of the countryside, and in the traditional spa facilities. For this we are creating prerequisites by building new accomodation capacities, mainly in Prague and Bratislava, in cooperation with foreign firms. However, the national committees should ensure in a more effective way the development of the necessary services not only as regards their extent and quality but also in their timely availability. We should draw more lessons from the experiences of those countries which literally live from tourism. At the same time what is at issue is not only a highly advantageous influx of foreign currency, which we are unnecessarily losing. At issue is an irreplaceable form of widening contacts between peoples, of advertising our country and gaining new friends for it.

Comrades, we need a new structural policy in all branches, including in agriculture. We are providing the comsumption of foodstuffs on a level which is quantitatively comparable with other developed states. We are especially aware of the successes of the cooperative movement in socialist agricultural mass-production in the year of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the United Cooperative Farms. The fast rates of scientific and technical progress in front-ranking farms, which provide a good name for our socialist homeland abroad, is evidence of the strength of the cooperative form of ownership.

We have been achieving good yields per hectare of the majority of cereals for a long time. In spite of this we are not self-sufficient in cereals production, even despite record crops in recent years. In order to ensure high meat consumption, last year we imported over 500,000 tonnes of cereals worth $65 million. These imports impose a considerable burden on the state treasury. We cannot count on them in the future, but we must search for internal resources, in particular in more cost-effective management. It is impossible to agree with the conduct of those agricultural enterprises which export foodstuffs in the interest of gaining foreign currency, although this costs the treasury a considerable amount of money. We also critically regard the fact that the structure of foodstuffs consumption does not always correspond to health requirements. The reserves lie in the range and quality, too. Therefore, we instructed the minister of agriculture and food to draw up a conception of food policy up to the year 2010 which will be discussed by the government at the end of this year.

The disharmony between plant and livestock production represents an important problem of the agricultural and food complex. In comparison with plant production, the growth of livestock production was double in the last 3 years. However, the price of this was disproportionately high costs. In this respect we do not look well when compared to the most advanced states. This is not, of course, a fault of the agricultural enterprises alone. The engineering and chemical industries contributed to a large degree to this state. As a consequence of the new cost, prices, which were raised on average by 20 percent, the price subsidy of 1 liter of full-fat milk is 2.37 Kcs, of 1 kilogram of butter it is 35.31 Kcs, and in the case of roasting beef they are high too: they amount to 49.90 Kcs. Thus, it is all the more urgent to make a decision on whether our economy is capable of coping with such a fast growth of meat consumption, which is already reaching 91 kilograms per capita annually. Such subsidies cannot be borne forever, especially since they are inclined toward incessant growth. One of the main ways to restrict them is to reduce costs and to raise production efficiency overall. In agriculture perhaps all countries are subsidizing their production in a particular way. We will not be able to avoid this today nor, probably, in the future either. However, at issue is the extent and the pruposefulness of the expended state funds.

Experts and the general public often discuss the current resources and potential of our agriculture. It is pointed out how much can be done to reationalize enterprise management. There are great reservs in observing agrotechnical requirements, improving the quality of sowing, and limiting losses in harvesting, storing, and processing agricultural produce. They discuss the issue of timely decisionmaking on structural issues based on a realistic assessment of world agricultural market trends and domestic conditions.

We must be much more active in fighting the aggravation of ecological conditions, falling soil productivity, acid rain, the effects of water and wind erosion, and the danger of harmful substances. The Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food is assessing the reasons for high production costs and is preparing a proposal for the Ninth 5-Year Plan on how to make use of great investment and how better to take ecological needs into consideration.

In the second half of this year the government will assess the results of applying the new economic mechanism in agricultural enterprises from the beginning of this year, including new management organization of the agricultural-food complex in regions and districts.

Deputies' criticism of the food processing industry is realistic. The reasons for its lagging behind in the past are well known. At the moment we see as the most topical task the modernization of obsolete canning plants and sugar refineries. We support making use of capacities within agricultural enterprises for food processing of agricultural produce. In this way we hope to achieve a greater loss reduction, as well as improved variety and quality of food products.

We emphasize the development of packaging technology. It is not enough to grow and harvest a high yield of plants; it is also necessary to make the best use of the harvest. Only what appears on the consumer's table counts.

Coal mining and electric power production are among the most important sections of our industry and an important source of economic wealth. The high production growth of industries requiring much energy, and insufficient modernization in processing industry, put ever increasing demands on resources. We have to change our ideas about developing the fuel and energy complex, especially regarding a more significant share of natural gas and nuclear power. The necessary import of natural gas has been secured, but so far only for the Ninth 5-Year Plan. We are also having talks with Iran about purchasing natural gas, especially from the beginning of the 10th 5-Year Plan, and with the USSR about its participation in its transport.

However, we give priority to reducing fuel and power consumption in the national economy, because it is much more effective to spend funds on their conservartion than on expanding fuel and power resources. For almost 40 years we have been increasing mining capacities and the output of power stations. Declared intentions to reduce consumption are not being fulfilled. One of the main reasons is—among other things—the low cost of energy, which represents approximately two percent of industrial production costs. The overall low efficiency of boilers' management also contributes to wastefulness. We assigned the minister of fuel and power to work out a concept for innovation of boilers' management and the production of the appropriate equipment before the year is over. As a follow-up to a production structure which would save more energy, we shall initiate a well-thought-out reduction of coal mining in some mines and open-cast pits. The government will also consider slowing the opening of new mines, particularly in Frenstat and Slany.

When assessing objectively, one cannot but see the strategic importance of uranium ore mining in the past. For various reasons, the effectiveness of mining could not be taken into account too much. Today we have to be more thrifty in this sphere, too. When making decisions on a gradual restriction of the mining and export of uranium we take into account the fact that this will interfere with the lives of several thousand people. We know that it is not easy for anyone to change the type of work they do or their place of work. The Ministry of Fuels and Power is preparing, in cooperation with the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, a comprehensive program of safeguarding the transition of employees to new places of work with the utilization of, and possibly even a change of, skills to create suitable social conditions. We also have to deal with a similar approach in other branches.

Our metallurgy has always been a key, prospering, and world famous industry. In the future too, as was pointed out at the 14th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, it will have great prosperity. We have become one of the few states in the world that can produce special refined steels, alloys, and pipes for very specialized use and we are among the greatest exporters of them. For an effective iron metallurgy industry and an extensive export of common metallurgical material we do not have all the necessary prerequisites, however. We have to import from far away ore which is not of very high quality, we are using out-of-date technology in production which consumes a lot of electricity, and we are polluting our environment. The future of the metallurgical industry lies in a gradual reduction of steel production while the share of the refined types is to grow, in increased quality of production and improvement of labor productivity.

By means of structural changes we want to solve a number of problems in machine-building production. Compared with the industrially advanced countries, there is a great disproportion between export and import of machinery. The current export range offered by the machine-building and electrical engineering production causes serious marketing difficulties. Many products have no chance in the tough competition due to their technical standard, quality, and price. On the other hand, we are not able to satisfy foreign demand for the goods that are required—such as machinery for the printing, textile, and leather industries, packing machinery, electrical domestic appliances, and so on. This shows both the unsuitable branch structure of Czechoslovak machine building and the low level of enterprise activity, as well as the slow introduction of flexible production systems.

Czechoslovakia, in all stages of its development, has been an important producer of military equipment. As a result of positive trends in the international situation, there is a decrease in demand for deliveries for military purposes. This year we are reducing the production of special products by 16 percent and next year by one-quarter, and this trend will continue. We have never before met such a deep and extensive intervention into the machine-building and production programs of large enterprises. The transition of many production capacities to civil programs combined with the retraining and reallocation of people is one of the most complex operations of the Ninth 5-Year Plan. We are aware of the complex character of this risk, not only in production but, above all, in the social sphere. This is a serious political issue on which we are preparing a comprehensive plan of attack. In the solution of these problems we also must count on with the cooperation of our partners abroad, above all, in the socialist countries.

The provision of dynamic development in the electrotechnical industry presents us with many worries. The provision of the Czechoslovak economy with electronics calculated per capita amounts roughly to one-third of the level of the advanced West European countries, and the contribution of this industry to the overall volume of industrial production is approximately 50 percent. Together with the enterprises, the industry must pay this debt to the consumers. At the same time, the center is not giving up its duty to allocate state funds for these purposes, either. At issue is the society-wide interest and meeting this interest should be mutually advantageous. On the basis of the conception, which should be justified in all respects, it is necessary to make a speedy decision for the Ninth 5-Year Plan on which spheres should be developed and which products should be purchased on a permanent basis.

The complex of chemical enterprises is among the modern spheres with a good future. According to the basic quantitative indicators, they are comparable with the major world firms. However, their overall efficiency is roughly 50 percent in comparison with them, their foreign trade balance is passive, and the proportion of qualified chemistry is disproportionately low. For a long time we have relied in a one-sided way, primarily on expanding the petrochemical industry. We have lost time in the search for new production programs that would replace the production of powder fertilizers and other kinds of goods with little future.

At present we are facing a number of important problems, which should be solved in particular through accelerated structural change to benefit qualified chemistry, through narrowing the produced range and deepening the international division of labor. We base the good outlook of this industry on the highly qualified collectives of chemists, who are widely recognized beyond our country's borders. The new management system creates very favorable conditions for making extensive use of them.

Light industry is fulfilling two important functions in our national economy. Together with the engineerng industry, it procures foreign currency and also has an irreplaceable role in supplying the domestic market. The consequences of considerable obsolescence of capital assets can be overcome only slowly. In this situation it is hardly capable of keeping up with the increasing world tendency toward a highly automated and thus high quality and inexpensive production. The products of the textile industry in particular are difficult to market. The glass and ceramics industry, which is able to compete, has a better position. But even in this respect we cannot do with mass production only. Participation on the world market requires higher flexibility by including the required ranges in the production programs, by enterprises seeking markets, and by the greater application of the creative abilities of our research workers, engineers, and workers. The government will give priority support to modernizing those enterprises whose products effectively add to the value of qualified work and which are capable, with their high degree of fashion and quality, of coping with the ever-demanding competition of world markets. We will begin reducing the production of mainly standard types of goods, which are material and labor intensive, and which are, at the same time, of low profitability.

The benefit of large-series production from imported raw materials—wool, cotton, leather, dyes, and others—is highly questionable. With regard to obtaining new raw materials, this becomes very costly. We are interested in developing the timber processing industry. We must value more the domestically produced raw materials and use them to a greater effect. However, we are not satisfied with the utilization of timber mass or with the application of new technological processes. We are studying the possibility of further restricting raw timber exports from 1 January 1990.

We see as one of the limiting factors on the functioning of our economy the low level of productivity, speed, and reliability of transport systems. Since 1950 the volume of goods transported has increased 7 times, transport productivity 4.6 times, and the number of passengers transported 3 times. This development is connected not only with the growth of the material and energy intensity of production but also with the irrational division of social labor. At present there is in Czechoslovakia a transport intensity of the gross domestic product which is approximately twice that in similar countries. Despite the fact that that the heavy traffic on transport routes, above all the railway network, has gradually become the busiest in Europe, investment in transport has been underestimated for a long time. The resolute strengthening of the main routes and modernization of this branch is still ahead of us.

We, however, see as a success that after years of deepening disorders, there is now, although only slowly, a certain improvement in time keeping and in transport conditions. On the basis of the joint session of the government and the Central Council of Trade Unions, first results have been shown in strengthenng capacities in city bus transport. The government has approved the concept of developing railway transport envisaging implementation in relevant 5-year plans. The needs of investment represent, according to the industry, about Kcs 300,000 million up to the year 2005. I know that this sum seems at the first glance unrealistic, but transport requires certain financial means every year. It would be very risky to allow further lagging behind.

After years of long consideraton we are starting to modernize the airports in Prague and Bratislava and the aircraft fleet, above all for long distance flights. An agreement has been signed on renting two modern jumbo jets. We are preparing a broader utilization of waterways for international transport.

In the contemporary world, the level of work with information is among the main prerequisites of a dynamic economic and social development. All the more serious are the considerable disproportions within the extent and the quality of communications services available. For example, 3.3 million people are unable to receive the second television channel. For every 100 citizens, there are only 12.5 telephones—while in a number of European countries the ratio is much higher. We are also lagging behind in the range of services, transmission of data, and non-cash payments. In the past 20 years only 1.7 percent of the economy's total investment sources were spent on this branch—that is three to four times less then in advanced states. We see investment in communication as a highly effective and progressive branch of production services and will gradually solve this problem. We need to speed up, above all, the development of telephone installations and broader utilization of satellite transmission for reception of television and radio programs. This is why the share of investment in transport and communications will be increased progressively after the year 1990.

When creating a new economic structure, we also proceed from ecological points of view. One of the key problems of the present world, connected with all aspects of economic and social policy, is the worsening state of the environment. It has grown from a technical issue to a fundamentally economic and, still more, humanitarian issue; from a national to an international issue. Investments in Czechoslovakia in protecting the environment are low, compared with the global or European average. They are being increased gradually and in the Ninth 5-Year Plan we envisage their growth by approximately half.

We are not satisfied with the speed with which ecological projects are implemented. We have given them a green light all around. We envisage for the future the creation of specialized construction capacities for them.

This April the government adopted measures for the conversion from coal to gas and for improving environmental conditions in Prague and in the North Bohemian region. Their implementation, which will begin in 1990, will lead to the gradual removal of basic sources of air pollution. The increased use of gas, the wider application of centralized heat supplies, and the expanded use of electric power for heating will substantially improve the environment. By 2010, almost Kcs 29 billion will be spent in Prague alone for this purpose.

The attention of the federal and national government is also focused on better coordinating the management of care for the environment. The system so far has not yet achieved a harmony between legal norms and their implementation. We shall have to create economic tools that will force managerial bodies, enterprises, and individuals into ecologically efficient behavior, which will make them feel highly responsible for the quality of water, air, and soil. We consider it right that taxes, payments, and fines should not be paid only to the budget of the federation or national republics, but according to given responsibility also to the budgets of national committees. In this way resources will be created which, in turn, will be used to deal with issues connected with the removal of shortcomings in the environment. The utilization of funds should become the subject of broad discussions between voters and national committees so that every national committee and all citizens feel their share of responsibility for the ecological situation and jointly strive for its improvement. The important thing here is not only to limit economic losses. The most important thing is to speed up the improvement of conditions for a healthy life of the people. The traditional base of the national awareness of our really lovely homeland is also at stake.

The struggle for greater ecological security is having an increasingly strong international impact in the framework of central Europe. Therefore, we are developing wide-ranging activities in this field, along with the other socialist states. On our initiative a meeting of seven neighboring countries was organized and helped to bring our viewpoints closer. Czechoslovakia will continue in its effort toward joint initiatives in the area of information exchange, in education for the protection of environment, in joining forces for preventing accidents and overcoming their consequences, and in the building of ecologically kind industries.

The decision about reducing the number of men and weaponry and about organizational changes in the Czechoslovak People's Army creates conditions for a significant improvement in the contribution of the Army to implementation of the tasks of the national economy. The decision to cut the planned budget expenses for defense in 1989-90 by 15 percent, the number of soldiers in combat units by 12,000, and to reinforce the Army construction and railway organizations by at least 20,000 soldiers has been very important for our economy. The funds saved will be used for reinforcing resources covering the needs of healthcare, education, social security, and other spheres.

Comrades, the transfer to a new quality for our economy can be carried out in a complex way, through changes in the sphere of production forces, economic relations, and the subjective factor. However, man is not only a decisive factor, he, at the same time, also represents the objective of these fundamental changes. Economic activity is acquiring sense only through the consistent orientation toward meeting the needs of the people. Any equipment, regardless of how perfect it may be, is useless until it is put into motion by live labor. Any management methods and levers, regardless of how good they may be, are incapable of action if they are not implemented in life's everyday activity. The demands for the comprehensive intensification of production open up a broad space for creative activity and initiative. The utilization of these conditions, however, depends on the conscious activity of well-trained and committed people.

We cannot continue in the deeply rooted but highly ineffective practice of utilizing the basic production assets mostly by one shift, of tolerating the utilization of an average of only 75 percent of the work time, of expending unnecessarily around Kcs 50 billion annually on the maintenance of unused capital assets, and of envisaging the need for 900,000 employees in the management and administration sphere. All this leads to achieving only 50 percent of the national economy productivity of labor achieved in the most advanced states. Connected with this is also a very high proportion—amounting to almost 30 percent—of the routine low-qualified labor, the annual fund of labor hours, which is longer by 14 days, and the working day, which is 10 percent longer than in comparable countries. The economic potential of an 8-million-strong workforce with its more efficient use conceals within it a great resource of the dynamic growth of national wealth. It is within the power of the Czechoslovak economy to carry out the transfer from "social" employment to truly effective employment without endangering the basic guarantees. A turn from the extensive to intensive development, from wasting human labor to rational management, from shortages to the sufficiency of the work force is beneficial for individual persons, collectives, and the society as a whole.

The fundamental change in the economic thinking linked with the habits to give priority to grandeur before savings, quantity before quality, to extend capacities without considering costs and profit, to consider economy and saving as a demonstration of poverty and dearth, represents a great reserve. The firmness of social gurantees is not a matter of goodwill from someone above, but it is a result of the endeavor of all aimed at healthy and effective economy. We are convinced that this kind of social policy is in keeping with the revolutionary traditions and with the current interests of the working class. We rely on its best members' sense of wisdom and skill, punctuality and consciousness, collective spirit, order, and responsibility, and we count on it all for the future, too.

Although the creation of resources in the Eighth 5-Year Plan is lagging behind the planned objectives, the social program in the sphere of social and individual consumption is being fulfilled. When assessing the creation and the use of the national income, it is necessary to consider an exceptionally high degree of the economic activity of the Czechoslovak population. The rate of male employment was 60.4 percent in the CSSR in 1987 and it is on the level of other countries. The rate of female employment was 50 percent in 1987 and this puts us in the top level in the world.

The government considers one of the fundamental issues to be a more rational utilization of the age, educational and qualification structure of the population. The practical implementation of new knowledge and technologies depends in many respects on raising the population's education level as a whole. In this connection we face many problems in the structure, quality, and utlization of skills. We are preparing a retraining program through which, according to some calculations, in connection with some long-term structural changes, several hundred thousand people should pass. Ways and means toward perfecting the Czechoslovak educational system have been suggested by the 13th session of our Central Committee. On the basis of adopted resolutions, the government will, in distributing the national income, create possibilities to increase the means for its development. We see the improvement of social conditions for the merited work of teachers as especially urgent.

The population's social consumption in 1988 reached Kcs 202,000 million and since 1970 it has increased almost three times. The extent of free medical, educational, and cultural services, social expenditure on public transport, housing and community economy represent almost half of the work incomes of the population. But in this sphere, too, there are a number of shortcomings. In the future there will have to be a clear increase in effective contributions to the non-production sphere through the restructuring of its development mechanism and the socioeconomic criteria of activity. The government has adopted principles for ways of implementing the restructuring of the non-production sphere which envisaged strengthening principles of financial autonomy. We see realistic ways to solve at least the most urgent needs of individual links, above all, in a certain redistribution of resources according to the urgency of needs, in harmony with principles of merit and justice. The Ministry of Finance, together with the relevant branches, must draft a proposal for better utilizing the possibilities of combining paid-for and free services in social consumption and setting up a priority order of its individual directions.

We are also facing an important decision on how to better care for people's health. Recently the attention of the broad public and political institutions has been focused on this issue. Organs of the party Central Committee, the Central Committee of the National Front, and the Central Council of Trade Unions have discussed it too. First, we are considering realistic possibilities to improve medical care, to deal with its increasing expense. On the basis of the government-adopted concept of production of medicines and control of their quality, we are preparing an increase in capacities of the pharmaceutical industry. We are strengthening its export ability in the interest of creating greater sources for higher imports of raw materials and medicines. The health consequences of some negative aspects of the present way of life require new approaches, for example, the extention of prevention and rehabilitiation. We are preparing a number of changes in the healthcare system in the interest of more effective treatment of patients, the removal of the two-rail character of territorial and individual branch establishments, the concentration of top equipment in selected establishments, and the perfection of out-patient territorial care.

In the implementation of the law on the struggle against alcoholism and other addictions, strengthening each person's responsibility for his own health comes to the foreground. We consider as especially important the joining of efforts of the state, enterprises, national committee, and social organizations and also a higher share of citizens toward an accelerated solution of these sensitive problems.

The Czech and Slovak Governments are working on proposals for material-technical cover of the needs of healthcare, including improving the system of managing medication. The federal government will evaluate them in the second half of this year.

A rich cultural life and the authority commanded by its creators are among the typical features of our life. However, many problems have accummulated here, too, among others, there are the clarification of relations between professional and amateur culture as well as the participation of various institutions and citizens in their financing. We are for the greatest possible husbandry of spending in all areas, and this concerns culture too. We are prepared to give an objective assessment to justified needs. However, it seems that the considerable sums we spend on culture are not always distributed as they should be. Emphasis on economic thinking and decision-making does not mean giving in to commercialization. We do not think it right to abandon all-society cultural-political matters and allow culture to be run by unrestrained rule of money. This applies also to our attitude to books and literature, which are among the permanently valid elements of the tradition of our nations.

Our society pays special attention to the material securing of the development of physical education and sports. Expenses in this area—excluding obligatory physical education lessons at schools and in the armed units—will amount this year to over Kcs 5.7 billion and more than Kcs 2.6 billion of this will be covered by the state budget. We consider it right to increase the role of state bodies in the control of reasonable spending of these funds. Increasing needs cannot be covered by increasing contributions but by better thought out spending and by a more entrepreneurial attitude to gaining funds. Economic accountability [khozraschot] principles and self-financing must be used in this area, too, on a greater scale.

The Federal Assembly committee justifiably criticized the practice in which enterprises pay people wages they do not deserve. Why does this happen and how can we prevent it? In 3 years the social productivity of labor has grown only by 6.2 percent although the Eighth 5-Year Plan envisioned a growth by 9.5 percent. There is some deviation from the plan in the payment of earnings. Therefore, the government has adopted certain measures to rectify this. A prepared system of directing payment funds would lead to reinforcement of the principle of payment by merit. We are for growth of earnings based on objective results of labor. Attempts at being popular by distributing money is not in the interest of honest people. When there is a lot of money and not enough goods only speculators can profit. We cannot continue to suffer lack of order, false egalitarianism, parasitism, or stealing property in socialist ownership. The fact that the situation is not improving shows that it is necessary to seek and apply more effective methods to prevent more firmly these negative phenomena.

In the payment of earnings, the desired deepening of differentiation in reward-giving according to merit has not taken place. Egalitarian trends in paying out the moveable parts of earnings have not been overcome. Earnings are so far not affected by the quality of economic results of individual enterprise. There are cases when, even in the same specialization, a prospering enterprise is paying lower average wages than an enterprise that is operating at a loss. We see many examples of violation of the principles of rewarding for work and this has a negative impact on performance, discipline, and morals. There are unjustified differences in earnings between equally exacting work in individual sections of the national economy. The practice of paying people according to their education regardless of their performance and the results of their work is widespread. On the other hand, professional expertise is often undervalued. It is also not right that women in the same profession and of the same grade as men earn, on average, 10-20 percent less than men.

The wage uniformity, which supports mediocrity and discriminates against talent, is subject to criticism, by young specialists in particular. The remuneration according to work results as a principle of social justice is not a non-obligatory pledge for us, but it is a law of social life. We are determined to ensure its more consistent fulfillment and to struggle more determinedly against all manifestations of its violation. The authority in implementing the wage forms was completely transferred to the enterprises, which are able to decide about the size and the way of awarding bonuses, rewards, and other incentive components of wages. But only a few organizations will manage to make use of this authority through effective intra-enterprise management and well-studied financial autonomy.

The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs will submit proposals for a more objective criteria of the wages policy this year. We believe that we will find support for this move from the central council of the revolutionary trade unions, too. The draft of the government's principles is being completed, according to which will be set the conditions for introducing flexible working hours, which should ensure its more effective use and reduce the time losses that are arising due to settling personal affairs. We should also take a look at the obsolete taxation system. We will not be able to avoid the problem of the disproportionate differences in income tax and the unnecessarily complicated calculations of it, which employs thousands of administration staff workers.

Many justified remarks by deputies concern the problems of housing standards. We expend more than Kcs 20 billion annually from the state budget on meeting the overall demands for housing. The present level of rents is an important economic and social problem. The losses of the housing management enterprises alone, which receive a subsidy from the state budget, amount to almost Kcs 6 billion annually, because the payment for living in the state-owned apartments does not even correspond to the real costs of running and maintaining them. Although the state takes upon itself a great burden of caring for housing, the inhabitants are rightly not satisfied with many matters. They are experiencing the consequences of an important disproportion between economic laws, valid legal norms, and realistic outlook for the solution of the housing problem. It has been calculated that approximately 6 percent of families are lacking their own apartments.

The growing difference between the populations' expenditure on the apartments belonging to the municipal authorities, enterprises, cooperatives, and in family houses are creating a social differentiation which is difficult to justify. The family that receives a state-owned apartment of the 1st category with 3 rooms—mostly without taking social conditions into consideration—has the benefit of an approximately 200,000-Kcs reduction in the cost of living in comparison with the family living in a comparable cooperative apartment. Is this in keeping with social justice? The government is aware of the difficult situation of many families, especially of newly married couples in Prague and other places. We consider the solution of such problems, which were long neglected, urgent, as are the conditions for the transfer of apartments to personal ownership, introducing order into the registers of apartments, broader possibilities of individual equipment of newly allocated apartments for payment according to the renters' wishes, granting advantage to the proprietors of family housing, and increasing the penalty to those not paying rent.

We are aware of the need to solve the housing problem in a complex way in all social contexts and with a long-term outlook. We are drafting a conception of the state housing policy for the Ninth 5-Year Plan. In accordance with our endeavor to at least make some headway as soon as possible we welcome citizens' interest to solve the housing problems by their own means. The government therefore submitted in April an amendment of the law on personal ownership of apartments to the Federal Assembly.

It creates extensive opportunities to purchase appartments and removes unnecessary administrative obstacles. The basic essence of this proposal is to provide a specific and responsible overseer for the appartments and houses and at the same time to make effective use of the population's savings. To this end we also pursued an objective that the national committees should receive additional funds this year to improve the fulfillment of the election program, and to solve the urgent problems of education, healthcare, and other spheres. The discussion of this amendment was recommended on several occasions and then postponed by the Federal Assembly committees. We respect the reason that the drafts for the procedural regulations were not submitted in time and that there were not enough opportunities to consult the voters. We are drawing a lesson for the future from this. On the other hand, we will probably not be able to do it this year without special systems for the legislative provision to restructure the economic mechanism. We do not support rushed decisions and undue haste to the detriment of quality.

In the interests of widening citizen's contribution to obtaining suitable housing, the government has decided to substantially raise financial assistance to young builders of family houses up to the amount of Kcs 150,000. We consider correct the requirements to create for this purpose the necessary conditions for the land to be ready on time for construction material to be available. Together with the Ministries of Construction and Industry and with the national committees we will carry out an inspection of the true state in 6 months time. This is one of the provisions of the joint deliberations between the federal government and the Central Committee Presidium of the Socialist Youth Union, by means of which we wish to jointly improve the social conditions of young people embarking on their life.

We are preparing other steps too, for example the principles of the law on the state policy of protecting children and young people. We see care for implementing the creative abilities and energy of young people and the enhancement of their active participation in the affairs of state as one of the prime and urgent tasks. We devote exceptional attention to drafting the conception of the state family policy, we target it at stabilizing married life, at improving the preparation of young people for family life. In order to expand the assistance to the families with children and newlyweds, the financial and living situation of more than 1 million young families with children was improved in this 5-year plan and conditions were created to give more time to parents to look after young children.

We are also considering further amending maternity grants and benefits. The government will support the provisions that make it possible for women and especially for mothers of young children to work shorter working hours, to have flexible working time, and to introduce work systems that will be to a greater degree adapted to different patterns of family life. Today, 6-8 percent of employed women have shorter working hours, although the interest in this opportunity is at least double. The Congress of the Czechoslovak Women's Union last week voiced a number of interesting proposals on these and other questions. The possibility was discussed of creating a special federal government body to unite the course of action in providing for the needs of women and families. We consider this to be a useful idea and will gladly take it up and discuss it jointly with representatives of the Czechoslovak Union of Women soon.

In the next 5-year period the situation will change fundamentally with regard to the development of manpower resources and employment. Numerically strong age groups will enter their productive age and there will be an addition of 360,000 to the labor force. The government has instructed the relevant central authorities to prepare systems of measures that will make it possible to cope with this situation. We anticipate a higher growth in employment, above all in trade, transport, and services and a more marked reduction in the employment of foreign workers.

We will also focus on the further development of care for citizens whose working capacity has changed, by creating certain guarantees to enable them to find suitable employment. Their proportion in terms of the overall economically active population is now around 3.5 percent. Only 10 percent of 290,000 of them are employed in organizations specially set up for them. In a draft of the new laws on taxes and levies we envisage giving economic advantages to enterprises employing disabled fellow citizens.

We respect all those who by their many years of selfless work have contributed meritoriously to our present situation. We regard it as our natural duty to care for the living conditions of 3.5 million senior citizens in our country, who represent a full 22 percent of all inhabitants. It is envisaged to introduce regular adjustment of pensions, but specific decisons will depend on overall economic results.

Social policy represents the principal content, the key element of the government's activity. In the Ninth 5-Year Plan, which is now in the process of being drawn up, we proceed from the necessity to substantially strengthen its social orientation. We regard the satisfaction of people's needs as the main aim and target of our efforts. Simultaneously with the reinforcement of the role by the center, our concern will also be to make more effective use of the potential of the social policies operated by enterprises, including the share of social organizations. It is impossible to distribute more than has been produced. We can however consult each other about what can be used more effectively and at the same time justly in a redistribution in favor of more desirable objectives. In considering these sensitive issues we are counting on the active attitude of the Central Committee of the National Front, the Central Council of Trade Unions, and the Central Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth.

The fundamental political approach to the social problem is expressed in the following idea expressed in the concluding speech made by Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the 14th session of the party Central Committee, where he said: When we talk about restructuring and about what it should bring, it is necessary to realize clearly that social guarantees cannot be built on low performance and on egalitarianism in remuneration. The very purpose of restructuring is to counter this and to eliminate these phenomena.

Dear comrades. It must be realized, although it is not pleasant, that the desire for a better standard of living must always be grounded economically. Only then can it be realistic and stimulating, for where the contrary holds sway, it remains only a dream and a fervent wish. This is completely true about our times.

We do not want to delude others or ourselves. Therefore we must reassess many things objectively, we must talk about the most suitable alternative way of proceeding, redistributing something, saving something, and paying more for something. The main thing however is to gain further means through increased productivity of individuals and collectives, of state and cooperative enterprises, of managerial structures in the entire national economy.

The assertion of higher efficiency in material production and of more efficient management requires overcoming the unilateral understanding of the essence of economic growth, of aims, content, and methods of developing socialism. We see the way to the reinforcing the role of the controlling national economic center in linking together scientifically based, politically comprehensible, and socially attractive tasks. We want honest solutions that benefit both citizens and the country.

The promotion of essential positive changes in the national economy does not depend solely on long-term programs. It begins by gradually tackling daily cares, real life problems, and citizens' work. This is true also with regard to the preparation of plans for 1990.

We consider it our duty to convince our citizens by practical deeds that socialism has nothing in common with poor quality work, egalitarianism, corruption, bureaucratism, and mediocrity. In the interests of a speedy solution to our internal problems we must cope with all displays of international isolation and overcome the atmosphere of self-satisfaction. We want to expand relations with socialist, neighboring, and other countries, based on the principles of mutual trust and on joint military, economic, and ecological security. We want not a closed, but an open economy which is in our national interest and harmonizes with socialism's international character.

Competition will speed up our advancement and will make it possible to increase our contribution to the joint work of European nations and world civilization. Our country is rich in natural beauty and places of historical interest and in excellent technical projects, but above all in well-qualified, civilized, and politically and morally mature people. We can boast a successful balance. We have enough to be proud of, to build on, and to count upon.

Much is expected from us: To rectify what has been neglected and to prepare society well for new tasks and conditions. There are many obstacles in the struggle for a life that our people will be satisfied with, for a happy future for our country, and for the best possible position in the competition of nations. However, there are our realistic possibilities, strength, and determination. In this rests our determination about the ability to achieve of our intentions through restructuring and gaining people's support. I am convinced that the content and the manner of today's deliberations show the direction of our activity for the well being of our republic and its citizens. [applause]

Adamec Closes Assembly Session

AU2406152789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Jun 89 p 5

["From the Closing Statement by Comrade L. Adamec" at the 14th joint meeting of the CSSR Federal Assembly chambers in Prague on 20 June]

[Text] The opportunity of comprehensively exchanging views with Federal Assembly deputies on the development of the national economy does not arise so often. Therefore, allow me to make a few comments so that a concrete order prevails in our proceedings. In view of the late hour I will be very brief.

I followed the debate with great interest. For me it was very interesting, educational, and inspiring. I would be a day dreamer if I had expected anything other than a very critical tone. Despite this, I am very pleased that there is such a lively interest in the development of the national economy on the part of Federal Assembly deputies. This gives me the definite certainty that we will solve the problems together. I see the first prerequisite for success in this.

It pleases me that the effort to speak openly—the language of facts and figures—is accepted with agreement. Voices also crop up that the exact recipe for solution does not always follow criticism. Unfortunately, in the government we do not have a thoroughly worked out remedial program in everything. In the report, I attempted to indicate starting points where we know them to be but even where, so far, we do not know the starting points clearly enough we are not marking time. We are influencing negative phenomena operatively. However, in no case do we stand passively by and just watch. I think that the activity of the government over 8 months confirms these policies, at least in something.

I agree with the view of Comrade Deputy Hula that we must regard the evaluation of the past as open. The 18th congress of our party is justified in adopting an objective standpoint on this period.

Members of our government replied to individual questions. I want to assure you, deputies, that our government is indeed paying extraordinary attention to issues of structural changes, ecological problems, and scientific-technical development and will not ease up on this effort in the future.

In today's report, I attempted to evaluate the situation as objectively and as thoughtfully as possible. The question can arise whether this report does not give too pessimistic an outlook. There can be—and also definitely are—various opinions about this. For those who previously saw matters without any problems the presentation of the true picture may give such an impression. This, however, is not the fault of the facts, rather, it is ignorance or too little personal courage to accept matters as they are.

I am by nature and by approach an optimist. But I do not base this conviction on covering up mistakes and excusing shortcomings. I base it on seeking and finding correct starting points. The firm foundation of the unity of ideas and a united course of action lies only in this. If we agree on this everyone will know what he has to do in his place.

I am criticized by some comrades that I see things in the economy as being too black. From what do I proceed? I have learned to base my opinions on the facts. We will not change these and we will not influence these by interpreting them according to our own wishes, as we would like them to be. The economy does not respect wishes.

What does life indicate and what will be vital for the very near future? What are the facts which are stopping our government in the further development of its work?

Allow me, at least, to recall some irreversible facts from which I must proceed. A great burden on our national economy, the fundamental barrier to its advancement—as I stated in the report—is the huge obsolescence of basic assets. In past years their average wear and tear has reached almost 45 percent. There are considerable differences between the branches: in internal trade 33 percent, in agriculture 37.2 percent, the situation is not good in engineering where it has reached on average 47.5 percent, in ferrous metallurgy with 51.8 percent, worst of all is the garment industry—58.1 percent, the printing industry—56.2 percent, and the chemical industry—55 percent. Such is the situation which we will not change tomorrow or even in a year.

Although the housing stock is overall written off at only 33 percent, we would require on an annual basis extra resources and capacities to the level of Kcs 20-25 billion for the essential maintenance of apartments and houses. There are no resources for immediate modernization. Feasibly it is possible to alter the situation gradually over a 10 to 15 year period.

The obsolescence of basic production assets reduces labor productivity by a substantial measure—I said that it is 50 percent of the level of developed states. This means that we require for the same amount of production almost double the number of people. We then miss these people in the entire tertiary sphere where we justifiably criticize healthcare, culture, education, trade, and so on.

We still have a high manufacturing consumption, although more than two 5-year plans have outlined a program for changes to this poor state. Tasks in reducing costs have not been fulfilled in the long term. In comparison with the world we are consuming disproportionately many raw materials, energy, and subsidiary materials. We must be able to admit to ourselves, it depends on us, on individual employees in factories, in united agricultural cooperatives, and so on. This does not have to be resolved either by the center or by the scientific front itself.

Engineering production is still not the main element of securing advantageous efficient exports and the necessary hard currency resources. We are not standing up to stiff competition because of our low technical level. In many cases prices do not even cover costs for materials and wages. Again this is a fact.

Our hands are also tied by indebtedness. It is impossible to further increase it overall. We are for accepting advantageous credits—that has already been said here—but only to purchase new technology with a rate of return of 2 to 3 years.

We have a considerable active balance in socialist countries, that is true, but we cannot get for it what we would require. Therefore, we cannot improve the situation in the internal market.

Developing countries are also much indebted to us, but acquiring these funds is a long-term matter and—excuse me—still a very uncertain one.

In what do I differ from some views in considering these facts? I say it openly, I do not take any comfort from the fact that so far we are relatively well off. I am thinking about tomorrow. I do not rely on the fact that the majority of people lives, on the whole, without greater cares. I am convinced that it is necessary to solve problems more quickly, even at the expense of some unpopular steps which can have a certain impact on the individual.

I already mentioned certain matters in the report; they were discussed in today's debate. First and foremost, what will have to be done? Primarily to alter those things that can be set in motion without investments and financial resources; to urgently put wage policy in order. Without specific measures, greater incentives, and the weakening of egalitarianism we will not improve working morale. We all agree everywhere on this principle but, in practice, we are, regrettably, in different places. To more decisively proceed toward building up responsibility, to more energetically eradicate shortcomings, and to overcome displays of indifference to the needs of the state and citizens—this was stressed here in the discussion several times but we will not accomplish this without changes in cadre work. There is still little courage to exchange incompetent people. It is necessary to depend more on people who are implementing restructuring daily, to give them the certainty that even while solving complicated problems they can also rely on the center, to more courageously bank on young people, and provide them with greater trust.

I hold the view that we must solve the starting points together—from the party organs and the organs of the National Front to government organs. Finding a common language and coordinated course of action on all lines is the meaning and success of restructuring. I see ways in this to improve the economy, to utilize everything that we have put into it and which forms our great wealth. On the other hand, I admit that I am a little afraid that by a certain hesitancy we could miss the right moment and then our position would be more difficult and gaining trust would be more complicated. I hope that my sincere personal declaration will be correctly understood by you, deputies, for which I sincerely thank you.

Honecker Congratulates New Chinese Party Head

LD2406215289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2127 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, has sent Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, the following telegram of congratulations:

On behalf of the SED Central Committee and of all Communists in the GDR, as well as on my own behalf, I send to you the warmest congratulations on your election as general secretary of the CPC Central Committee.

These greetings are linked to my firm conviction that the unshakeable friendship and comradely cooperation between our parties, states, and people will be further developed and strengthened to the benefit of the further progress of our people on the path of socialist construction, and in the interests of preserving and strengthening peace in the world.

I wholeheartedly wish you, esteemed Comrade Jiang Zemin, in your responsible work in implementing party policy for the benefit of the Chinese people, creative energy, health, and much success.

Shanghai Reports Execution of 'Violent Criminals'

AU2306121489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jun 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Executions in Shanghai"]

[Text] Beijing—Three violent criminals who were sentenced to death on 15 June because the were involved in serious acts of sabotage against railroad traffic, and because they had set fire to a train and impeded the extinguishing of the fire, were executed on Wednesday [21 June]. This was reported by the central Chinese television. There was no reason for revising the verdicts, the report stated.

FRG, GDR Exchange 'Secret Agents' 23 Jun

LD2306104189 Hamburg DPA in German 1011 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Bonn/Berlin (DPA)—The Federal Republic and the GDR have exchanged some secret agents. According to reports in Bonn and Berlin today, the couriers of the GDR state security service, Detlef Schroeder and Rainer Selch, were released from detention in the Federal Republic. Both were in contact with, among others, the Munich mechanical engineer Richard Popp.

As a countermove, two employees of Federal Republic services were released. There was no further information on this, apart from the fact that they had been sentenced to many years of imprisonment in the GDR. According to informed circles, the events were in no way connected with the GDR escapee, Martin Notev, who was deported from East Berlin on Wednesday evening because of protests from the Western allies in the western part of Berlin.

FRG Citizen Sentenced on Espionage Charges

LD2306144689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1301 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On 23 June, the military supreme court in Berlin sentenced FRG citizen, Adolf Weinrebe, to 8 years imprisonment for espionage on behalf of the FRG secret service, in accordance with Paragraph 98 of the Criminal Code. During the trial, it was proven that Weinrebe was hired, instructed, and paid by the secret service and conducted active military espionage against the GDR. He exploited numerous visits to the GDR, which he disguised as visits to relatives, for his espionage activities.

Security Issues Discussed at Bonn Colloquium

AU2406165389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jun 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Colloquium on European Security Issues in Bonn"]

[Text] Bonn—Security and disarmament in Europe were at the center of the Fifth Scientific Colloquium between the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Academy for Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the GDR Politics and Economics Institute, which ended in Bonn on Wednesday [21 June], after 3 days of discussions. Both sides agreed that there has been progress in international relations on the path toward lasting peace, and that there is no alternative to the policy of dialogue. The disarmament process must be continued until a structural incapability to attack is achieved. In this context, the two German states have a special responsibility.

Both sides spoke in favor of new security structures that must replace the principle of deterrence. The GDR side pointed out that further progress can only be achieved if the principles of Helsinki, including the recognition of territorial integrity and sovereignty, as well as the principle of noninterference, are respected.

The colloquium was attended by, among others, Wilhelm Bruns, head of the Research Department of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation; retired Brigade General Christian Krause; Karsten Voigt, member of the Executive of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, and on the GDR side by the institute directors of the Academy for Social Sciences, Prof Rolf Reissig and Prof Werner Paff, as well as Colonel Helmut Geidel of the National People's Army.

U.S. Soldiers on Shopping Sprees in East Berlin

AU2306153089

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 22 June on page 2, under the headline "Report by the Parliamentarian-Political News Service: Going East on Shopping Sprees," carries an 800-word reprint of a report by the FRG Parliamentary-Political News Service (PPP), stating that every weekend U.S. soldiers go on shopping sprees to East Berlin with GDR currency that they have changed at private exchange bureaus in West Berlin at an exchange rate of DM13 to M100. "Hundreds of young soldiers are trying to buy as much as they can, including binoculars, expensive camping equipment, Meissen porcelain, toys," and even children's clothes, which, the report says, are heavily subsidized in the GDR and whose export is prohibited.

The shopping trips by the U.S. soldiers to East Berlin have long been producing a negative reaction among the local population. "The GDR, however, has no possibility of preventing the trips by the GI's to the consumer paradise of East Berlin. Under the Berlin Agreement, the soldiers of the four victorious powers have the right to travel to all four sectors of the former Reich capital without any restrictions."

"The buying craze has apparently become a source of embarassment for the U.S. military authorities. A spokesman of the Armed Forces stationed in Berlin hinted that the number of organized trips might be reduced and that servicemen will be advised to change currency at a 1 to 1 rate. The U.S. military authorities are also considering restricting purchases by U.S. soldiers to M500 to 700," the report is quoted as saying.

Economic Planning Talks With CSSR Delegation

AU2406163389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Exchange of Experiences With CSSR on Economic Planning"]

[Text] East Berlin—Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, met with Vaclav Vertelar, first deputy chairman of the CSSR State Planning Commission, on Wednesday [21 June].

During the friendly talk, they paid tribute to the stable development of economic relations. On the basis of the agreements in principle between the Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the efforts of both sides are aimed at increasing the efficiency of both national economies and at accelerating scientific-technological progress in particular. The preparation for the coordination of the plans for the 1991-95 period with a high quality is of special importance in this connection.

During the meeting, the two sides held an extensive exchange of views on management, planning, and economic cost accounting.

Gerhard Schuerer stressed that the existing system of the socialist planned economy has proven to be viable and flexible in the GDR. One of the GDR's basic concerns is to increasingly master the intertwinement of the GDR's highly developed economy, and to ensure the dynamic development of its performance through comprehensive intensification, and to achieve proportional development according to the plan. The application of the principle of self-financing by the combines in the intensively expanded sphere of reproduction constitutes a significant step in this direction.

Vaclav Vertelar spoke about the efforts that are being made in the CSSR to link central state management and increasingly efficient planning with the working people's resourceful activities and with the activities of the combines for which they themselves are responsible.

Swedish Defense Delegation Continues Visit

Visits Military Academy

AU2406165589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Swedish Delegation Visits Military Academy"]

[Text] Dresden—The delegation of the Defense Ministry of the Kingdom of Sweden visited the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy in Dresden on Wednesday [21 June]. Accompanied by Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee Politburo, the delegation headed by Minister Roine Carlsson familiarized itself with the institution's assignments concerning the basic and advanced training of officers of the National People's Army and of the defense and security forces, as well as regarding research. The director of the GDR's highest military educational institution, Lieutenant General Manfred Gehmert, explained that extensive knowledge in the spheres of social science, military science, military technology, and mathematics and natural sciences are imparted to the student officers during 3-year or 4-year courses. In this way, the future commanders, political and staff officers receive the necessary training to be able to fulfill their responsible tasks in the Army and in the Navy to safeguard peace. The visitors inspected the training base of the Air Force and Air Defense Command.

On the same day, the delegation visited the Meissen porcelain factory in Meissen and the Albertinum in Dresden. In the evening, they visited the Semper opera.

Tours Foreign Ministry

AU2406161189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Swedish Parliamentarians Received for Talks"]

[Text] East Berlin—Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary and first deputy foreign minister, received a delegation of the Defense Council of the Swedish Parliament, which is currently on an official visit to the GDR, on Wednesday [21 June].

During an exchange of views on topical international issues, Herbert Krolikowski explained the GDR's peace policy and elaborated in detail on its position on the strengthening of security and cooperation in Europe. The two sides were in agreement concerning the two states' stance on the reduction of nuclear and conventional military confrontation, and the promising start of the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces and confidence-building measures in Europe.

Herbert Krolikowski pointed out that, in order to ensure the deepening of the process of detente, all forces of peace must resolutely call for the continuation of the disarmament process without delay. The GDR is particularly in favor of creating distance between the offensive potentials at the border between the two alliances in Europe. It is important to achieve a state of mutual incapability to attack. However, this is only possible if dangerous weapons such as tactical nuclear weapons are not excluded from the disarmament process and not modernized, Krolikowski stated.

Plenum Communique on Party Congress Preparations

LD2306135589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1102 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the conclusion of the 8th meeting of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, the following communique was published today:

The SED Central Committee met in Berlin on 22 and 23 June 1989. Comrade Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, presented the Politburo report. Seventy-two comrades took part in the discussion. [East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German at 1200 and 1300 GMT on 23 June carries a similar report on the SED Central Committee plenum but gives 12 as the number of participants.] The Central Committee confirmed the Politburo's report.

On the basis of the party statute (points 51a, 56. and 64) and of the Central Committee election regulations, the eighth SED Central Committee plenum resolved to carry out the report back and election meetings of the executives of the basic organizations and of the district and area party organizations, in the period from 2 January to 8 April 1990.

The Central Committee confirmed the guidelines for the election of the delegates to the 12th SED Congress, and stipulated that motions for the 12th congress can be submitted to the SED Central Committee until 31 March 1990.

The 8th session made the following decision on the holding of party elections in preparation for the 12th SED Congress.

1. On the basis of the party statute (points 51a, 56, and 64) and the election regulations of the SED Central Committee, the report back and election of the executives of the basic organizations and of the district and area party organizations will take place in the period from 2 January to 8th April 1990:

—In the period from 2 January to 24 February 1990, the report back and election of the party group organizers and their deputies, the executives of the department party organizations and the basic organizations, and the central party executives and the local executives of the SED will take place;
—From 10 to 17 March 1990 for the report back and election conferences for district, city district, and city executives of the SED will be held;
—From 31 March to 8 April 1990 the report back and election conferences of the area executives of the SED will be held;

2. In accordance with the decision of the seventh SED Central Committee session, the 12th SED Congress will be held in Berlin from 15 to 19 May 1990.

3. Motions for the 12th congress can be submitted to the SED Central Committee up to 31 March 1990.

Guidelines for the election of delegates to the 12th SED Congress were also decided:

1. The delegates to the 12th SED Congress will be elected in accordance with Article 51c of the party statute at the area delegates conferences.

The election will take place in accordance with the election regulations decided by the SED Central Committee.

2. In accordance with Article 37 of the SED statute, the following key is stipulated for the number of delegates to be elected for the 12th SED Congress:

For every 850 party members, 1 delegate with a determining vote.

For every 850 candidates of the party, 1 delegate with an advisory vote.

Krenz Presents Awards to Select Citizens

AU2406163989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 June 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Awards for Meritorious Citizens for Outstanding Achievements"]

[Text] East Berlin—High state awards were presented to outstanding personalities in Berlin on Wednesday [21 June]. They were awarded to them by the GDR State Council chairman at the proposal of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the Presidium of the GDR Council of Ministers.

In recognition of their accomplishments in shaping the developed socialist society and in the reliable protection of its achievements, Egon Krenz, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, Politburo member, and secretary of the SED Central Committee, presented the Patriotic Order of Merit, the "Star of Friendship Among Peoples" order, and the "Banner of Labor" order.

The festive meeting at the official State Council building was attended by the members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Guenther Kleiber, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Guenter Schabowski, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Kurt Seibt, chairman of the Central Auditing Commission of the SED, and other figures.

Egon Krenz conveyed cordial greetings and congratulations from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to those decorated. He expressed thanks to work veterans, members of the German People's Police, and other organs of the Interior Ministry, employees of the customs administration, and working people who received awards for their outstanding achievements, exemplary initiatives, and many years of responsible work in developing and strengthening the GDR. "Our GDR, like no other German state, has been created by the joint will of all classes and strata, by the longing for peace, and the humanist responsibility of people from various backgrounds and different social positions, with different ideologies and religious beliefs. We are all in the middle of the historic process of far-reaching changes which will characterize the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. Our pride in the Republic is, at the same time, pride in our joint work and in the things that we have created through this work. We will not allow anybody to take this pride from us, even if we know very well that there is still a lot to be done," Krenz pointed out.

Referring to the forthcoming anniversary of the German People's Police, Egon Krenz praised the responsible work of the members of the German People's Police. "One of the characteristics of our Republic is that it does not only ensure order and security for the citizens, but that the citizens are also responsible for it. This trusting cooperation between the citizens and their fellow citizens in uniform is part of our understanding of a people's police."

On behalf of those decorated, Deputy Interior Minister Karl-Heinz Schmalfuss conveyed thanks to the party and state leadership for the high awards.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 14-21 Jun

AU2406154089

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 15 to 21 June reports the following appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

The following GDR leaders attended the second day of the Ninth GDR Pedagogical Congress in Berlin on 14 June: Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council; Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber; and the members and candidate members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) Hermann Axen, Hans-Loachim Boehme, Werner Eberlein, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Egon Krenz, Siegfried Lorenz, Guenter Schabowski, Harry Tisch, Inge Lange, and Gerhard Mueller. (15 Jun, p 1)

The following GDR leaders attended the third day of the Ninth GDR Pedagogical Congress in Berlin on 15 June: Erich Honecker; Willi Stoph; Horst Sindermann; and the members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Hermann Axen, Hans-Joachim Boehme, Werner Eberlein, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Egon Krenz, Siegfried Lorenz, Guenter Mittag, Guenter Schabowski, Harry Tisch, Inge Lange, and Gerhard Mueller. (16 Jun, p 2)

Werner Krolikowski, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Margarete Mueller, candidate member of the Politburo, attended a festive meeting of peasants and forestry workers in Leipzig on 17 June. (19 Jun, p 1)

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received Yeoryios Klahdakis, extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the Hellenic Republic, for the presentation of his credentials in Berlin on 16 June. (17-18 Jun, p 2)

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Yeoryios Klahdakis, extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the Hellenic Republic, for a visit in Berlin on 19 June. (20 Jun, p 2) Willi Stoph received a delegation of the Council of Representatives of the Republic of Afghanistan headed by Deputy Chairman Zuhurullah Zuhuri, in Berlin on 19 June. (20 Jun, p 2)

Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received Sharif Fayad, first deputy chairman and general secretary of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon, in Berlin on 14 June. (15 Jun, p 2) Hermann Axen spoke at the funeral for the member of the Danish Communist Party, Ib Norlund, in Copenhagen on 18 June. (19 Jun, p 5)

Horst Dohlus, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received a delegation from the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party headed by Men Sam An, Politburo member and head of the Committee for Organization and Cadres, in Berlin on 15 June. (16 Jun, p 2)

Werner Jarowinsky, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended a reception given by Nigel Hugh Robert Allen Broomfield, extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, in Berlin on 14 June. (15 Jun, p 2)

Army General Heinz Kessler, Politburo member and minister of national defense, addressed a conference of the National People's Army in Berlin on 14 June. (15 Jun, p 2)

Guenther Kleiber, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and Politburo member, received Minister Krustyu Stanilov, chairman of the Association for Transport, Agricultural, and Building Technology, in Berlin on 14 June. (15 Jun, p 1) Guenther Kleiber received Minister Ma'tuq Muhammed Ma'tuq, secretary of the People's Committee for Vocational Training of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, on 15 June. (16 Jun, p 2) Guenther Kleiber received Faustino Perez Hernandez, member of the Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, in Berlin on 15 June. (16 Jun, p 2)

Egon Krenz, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received a delegation of the Supreme Tribunal of the Socialist Republic of Romania headed by President Joan Salajan, in Berlin on 19 June. (20 Jun, p 2) Egon Krenz presented awards to work veterans, members of the German People's Police, and other organs of the Interior Ministry in Berlin on 21 June. (22 Jun, p 1)

Werner Krolikowski, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received a Soviet party delegation headed by Nikolay Dementey, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia, in Berlin on 14 June. (15 Jun, p 2) Werner Krolikowski received Josef Ertl, president of the German Agricultural Society, in Berlin on 15 June. (16 Jun, p 2)

Erich Mueckenberger, president of the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received Vasiliy Osnach, candidate member of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, in Berlin on 19 June. (20 Jun, p 2)

Margarete Mueller, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, attended a meeting of young cooperative peasants in Roebel on 16 June. (17-18 Jun, p 2)

Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission,received Henriques de Silva, minister of planning of the People's Republic of Angola and chairman of the Angolan side of the GDR-People's Republic of Angola Joint Economic Committee, in Berlin on 16 June. (17-18 Jun, p 2) Gerhard Schuerer received Vaclav Vertelar, first deputy chairman of the CSSR State Planning Commission, in Berlin on 21 June. (22 Jun, p 2)

Harry Tisch, chairman of the Central Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation and member of the Politburo, presented awards to meritorious trade union members in Berlin on 15 June. (16 Jun, p 7) Harry Tisch attended the opening of the 30th Workers Conference of Baltic countries, Norway and Iceland in Rostock on 17 June. (19 Jun, p 1) Harry Tisch received Valentin Makeyev, secretary of the Central Council of the Soviet trade union, in Rostock on 17 June. (19 Jun, p 2) Harry Tisch received Pertti Viinanen, chairman of the Central Organization of the Finnish Trade Unions, in Rostock on 17 June. (19 Jun, p 2)

Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs, received Miguel Horta e Costa, state secretary for foreign trade of the Portuguese Republic, in Berlin on 16 June. (17-18 Jun, p 5)

Closed Central Committee Session Continues

Session To Resume 24 Jun

AU2306204489 Budapest MTI in English 1950 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 23 (MTI)—The HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee is to resume its session opened on Friday on Saturday.

The body is to discuss the proposal on the summon and preparation of a HSWP congress. As stated by Emil Kimmel, deputy spokesman for the party, the report put forward by General Secretary Karoly Grosz and the debate to follow will not only be on the date and arrangement of the congress, but primarily on questions relating to the internal life of the party. There were 19 contributions, all made in the spirit of commission to reform.

Following this item, the body will discuss the report made by the nominating committee headed by Jeno Fock, and decide on personnel and organizational matters. The CC [Central Committee] removed from the agenda an item announced in advance, namely the definition of the HSWP's relation to churches and religion and postponed it to a later date. It decided to focus attention on the first item on the agenda so that the work of the highest forum of the party, the congress, could be marked by the spirit of renewal.

'Lively' Debate at MSZMP Session

LD2406113489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Excerpts] In Budapest, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] Central Committee debate on General Secretary Karoly Grosz' report has continued. [passage omitted]

A little fresh information from Andras Kerekes:

[Kerekes] I have just talked with Deputy Spokesman Emil Kimmel, who said there is a very lively debate going on at the session. Brief and comprehensive contributions follow one another, and it is characteristic of the debate's atmosphere that, following yesterday's 19 contributions, 26 people already have received permission to speak since this morning. [passage omitted]

Since the session is a closed one, real information will be given only after the decisions are made. As for my question regarding when this can be expected to happen, if it happens today at all, Emil Kimmel could not give a reply.

Details of MSZMP Debate 'Leaked'

LD2406155789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] [Presenter] We now connect to our correspondent Andras Kerekes, who is reporting on the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee [MSZMP] session.

[Kerekes] The MSZMP Central Committee is continuing in session. The debate is again on political issues. I said earlier that decisions were being made regarding personnel and organizational issues. This has now happened, although the results have not yet been made public. However, several members of the body immediately urged that the debate be further continued on the most important issues of party policy, indeed, beyond this, of internal political life.

As regards the personnel issues, I cannot yet give names. However, it has been leaked that the Central Committee had to decide on a four-member party Presidium and on its members, as well as on filling two Central Committee secretaries' positions. According to this leak the four-member Presidium—thus the party as well—would be led by the party chairman.

Perhaps I will be able to supply his name and the other names, in the next newscast.

Nyers Named Party Chairman

LD2406165889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Rezso Nyers has been elected chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. The Central Committee has created a four-man presidium in order to strengthen the leadership. Its members, besides the party chairman, are General Secretary Karoly Grosz, Premier Miklos Nemeth, and Minister of State Imre Pozsgay.

The Central Committee will later determine the specific areas of responsibility of the individual members of the presidium.

Two Central Committee secretaries have also been elected. Janos Barabas will be responsible for ideology and the press, and Jeno Kovacs for party organization.

The presidium immediately met in session to make proposals for the composition of the expanded Politburo. It is conceivable that this body will expand to 20-25 members.

In the intermission of the session, party spokesman Laszlo Major said that the congress had been convened for 7 October. Every 600 party members will be represented by one delegate; the members of the present Central Committee and Central Control Committee will also have the right to vote. The delegates will have to be elected by 24 August.

It is also said that the Central Committee intends to elect Janos Berecz director in chief of a combined party theoretical scientific institute.

The closing communique on the Central Committee session might be published as soon as today. At any rate, the members of the party Presidium will meet the Hungarian and foreign press on Monday at 1200 [1300 GMT].

New Composition Explained

LD2406192889 Budapest MTI in English
1834 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 24 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Political Committee and minister of state, has been elected president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

During a break on Saturday, the second day of the session—it was originally planned to last just one day—a briefing was given by party Spokesman, Laszlo Major.

A sort of agreement was reached on personnel issues during the session, enabling the party to prepare jointly for its forthcoming congress in the autumn, which, he announced, will begin on October 7.

Speaking about specific personnel issues, Mr Major said:

In a move to strengthen the leadership, the Central Committee decided to set up a Presidium which will consist of Rezso Nyers, Karoly Grosz, HSWP General Secretary, Miklos Nemeth, prime minister, and Imre Poszgay, minister of state. Therefore, the party now has a president, a general secretary and a collective, four-member Presidium. The Central Committee is already outlining the scope of authority of each official.

A decision was also taken on two new Central Committee [CC] secretaries: Jeno Kovacs, former director of the Party's policy department, was elected party organization secretary, and Janos Barabas, formerly secretary of the Budapest Party Committee, was made secretary for ideology and press issues. Janos Berecz, formerly in charge of ideology and press issues and secretary of the CC, was recommended for the post of director-in-chief of the Political Theory Research Institute, to be set up later.

During the briefing, the newly-elected Presidium was holding a session, and it is expected to make a proposal for an extended Political Committee. Mr Major also spoke about the envisaged change of name of this committee, which is to consist of 20-25 members.

Speaking about political issues relating to preparations for the forthcoming party congress, Mr Major emphasized that the debate on political-organizational issues had continued almost until the end of the second day. This was as sign that there were political reasons behind the personnel issues.

Insofar as an agreement was reached on personnel issues, creating an understanding within the party, varying political views were also brought nearer to one another. Thus, a political platform was created which enables the regulation of the slightly disarrayed lines of the party.

Speaking about convening the congress, Mr Major said the present members of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee would have a right of vote at the congress, and one delegate would represent 600 party members. The final date set for electing delegates is August 25.

In conclusion, the spokesman said that during the two-day conference, 92 had taken the floor, and a request for the general secretary to step down from his position was voiced by only three, while a fourth alluded to it.

Another briefing on the CC sesion will be given by Mr Major on Hungarian TV's Sunday program "A Het" (This Week).

The newly-elected Presidium is to hold an international press conference on Monday afternoon.

Democratic Forum To Become Party

LD2406202289 Budapest MTI in English
1916 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 24 (MTI)—At its Saturday session, the Presidium and electorate of the Hungarian Democratic Forum surveyed its activity and achievements, including its future prospects.

It established that the present situation of the country and the movement requires the passing of a new resolution. Therefore, the Presidium and electorate came to the decision that, in posession of the written consent of its membership, the Hungarian Democratic Forum is to form into a party, whilst still retaining its name and goals.

The communique on the decision points out that the Hungarian Democratic Forum is able to govern, and intends to turn into a self-governing political force the conviction of those Hungarian citizens who "feel they are the rightful owners of this country, and who agree with the goals and demands contained in the statutes of the Hungarian Democratic Forum".

Politburo Expanded

LD2406202989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 24 jun 89

[Text] At the 2-day session of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee, Rezso Nyers was elected party chairman. [passage omitted]

At the suggestion of the Presidium, the Central Committee has expanded the Politburo, which in the future will function as a 21-man political management committee.

The body has relieved Janos Berecz of his post of secretary, with recognition of his merits. After the session, party spokesman, Laszlo Major, said that the Central Committee had recommended Janos Berecz for the post of director in chief of the combined party theoretical research institute to be established. A communique will be issued on the talks, and on Monday there will be an international news conference.

Members of Expanded Politburo Listed

LD2406214889 Budapest MTI in English 2016 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 24 (MTI)—The short communique on the June 23-24 session of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] contains the date for the convention of the 14th Congress of the HSWP for October 7, 1989, in Budapest.

A resolution was also passed on the order for electing delegates with an election right, and those participating with a right to confer. Local delegate appointing should be completed by August 25, 1989, and subsequently, local delegate groups should be formed and spokesmen appointed. The Central Committee is to take a stand on the agenda of the Congress in July, while documents of the party forum should be drawn up as a result of consultations with the delegates.

Following in-depth debates on organisational issues, the Central Committee decided to implement organisational changes by forming a four-member Presidium, operating as a directive body of the party. The members are Rezso Nyers, new president of the HSWP, General Secretary Karoly Grosz, and Miklos Nemeth and Imre Pozsgay.

At the proposal of the Presidium, the Central Committee expanded the political committee, which will operate in future as a 21-member political management committee. Members of this new body are: Janos Barabas, Laszlo Boros, Robert Burgert, Jozsef Dudla, Gyorgy Fejti, Karoly Grosz, Laszlo Gyuricza, Csaba Hamori, Lajos Hegedus, Gyula Horn, Pal Ivanyi, Mihaly Jasso, Jeno Kovacs, Miklos Nemeth, Rezso Nyers, Maria Ormos, Imre Pozsgay, Mrs Sandor Rajki, Ilona Tatai, Laszlo Varga and Pal Vastagh.

Janos Barabas, secretary of the Budapest party committee, was elected secretary of the CC [Central Committee], and Jeno Kovacs, head of department of the party policy department of the CC. Janos Berecz, who will take up another party assignment, was relieved from his post as secretary in recognition of his merits.

Rezso Nyers was elected leader of the HSWP delegation at the trilateral political conciliatory discussions, while Gyorgy Fejti, Pal Ivanyi and Imre Pozsgay were elected members of the delegation.

Pozsgay Nominated as President

LD2506171789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Excerpts] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee will take a stand at its next session on the agenda and order of the congress scheduled to convene 7 October, and will submit to debate the tenets of the party program declaration. The communique published on the 23 and 24 June consultations, also states that the body will publish a resolution dealing with the program's preparation and its convention, and will publish its stand on the party's situation and political aims. [passage omitted]

The communique announces that if the National Assembly legislates with regard to the institution of president of the Republic, then the party's nominee for this post is Imre Pozsgay.

Rezso Nyers has been elected as head, with Imre Pozsgay, Gyorgy Fejti, and Pal Ivanyi as members of the MSZMP delegation to the Political Coordination negotiations. [passage omitted]

Communique Issued on Session

LD2506183289 Budapest MTI in English 1747 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 25 (MTI)—A communique has been issued on the June 23-24 session of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

The body debated the motion presented by Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, on the convention of the party congress and the proposals for its preparations. In conjunction with this, the situation of the party was also surveyed.

The HSWP Congress was convened by the Central Committee for October 7, 1989.

The body decided that each congressional delegate will represent 600 party members, and members of both the Central Committee [CC] and the Central Control Committee will have a right of vote at the congress.

The election of delegates to the congress must take place by August 27, 1989. Subsequently, county delegate groups should be formed, and spokesmen elected.

The Central Committee is due to take its stand at its next session as to the agenda and rules of procedure of the congress, and concurrently will hold a debate over the thesis of the party's platform declaration. The drafts to feature on the agenda of the congress should be elaborated on the basis of the views of the membership and continuous consultations with delegates.

The Central Committee is to publish the stand it adopted on the situation of the party and its political endeavours.

For the interest of coordination in the political leadership, the CC also decided at the session about organization and personnel changes. Rezso Nyers was elected as president of the party. A four-member presidium was elected as a directive body, consisting of the following people: Rezso Nyers, Karoly Grosz, Miklos Nemeth and Imre Pozsgay.

The CC relieved Janos Berecz from his post as CC secretary. He will be given another party assignment. The CC expressed its thanks for his past activity in the leadership. Janos Barabas and Jeno Kavacs were elected secretaries of the CC.

At the proposal of the Presidium, the Central Committee expanded the Political Committee, which in future will operate as a 21-member Political Management Committee.

If parliament enacts the bill on the introduction of the post of president of the Republic, the CC decided it would nominate Imre Pozsgay for the post.

'Standpoint' on Party Situation

LD2506222189 Budapest MTI in English 2106 GMT 25 Jun 89

["HSWP CC Standpoint on the Situation of the Party and Political Endeavours'—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, June 25 (MTI)—The May 1988, national conference of the party resulted in its dynamic activity on the road to becoming a lively political movement. It is taking decisive steps to increase the democracy of the political system and towards a constitutional state. This is in conformity with the interest of the state. At the conference, the acceleration of economic reforms was also decided on, which is also manifest in the elaboration process of the bills for founding the new model of a market economy.

Fundamental changes are accompanied by new tensions within the party, owing primarily to the varying opinions over the character and pace of changes. Thus, tensions are caused not by the appearance of various trends, but by the fact that so far, no political synthesis has emerged between these trends. Important theoretical and political issues were left unsettled within the Central Committee and the Political Committee.

The Central Committee [CC] holds it of essential interest that the renewing Hungarian politics should be interpreted correctly within the party, and by Hungarian and international public opinion.

The HSWP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] endeavours are in line with the activity of a number of communiist parties and socialist countries. International public opinion and the majority of Hungarian society which agrees with democratic socialism, support the course of the HSWP's politics.

The HSWP Central Committee does not accept the characterisation by some foreign politicians and media which suggests the transition to political pluralism and a mixed-ownership market is a betrayal of socialism, some kind of "peaceful counter-revolution...". The HSWP clearly differentiates between the protection of socialist values, and clinging to power without even recoiling from the use of force.

The Central Committee affirms the obligations it undertook at the political conciliatory discussions: accomplishment of a democratic transition and the solving of political conflicts can only take place in a peaceful, non-violent way.

The Central Committee cannot leave unmentioned those right-wing, and, on occasion, even extreme inciting manifestations, which have caused annoyance among the public. It firmly condemns the anti-Soviet views which endanger the interests of the country, and the fact that that some people utilized the process of national justice for aims opposing the spirit of appeasement.

It discards the unilateral interest perception, supposed to be national, which intends to turn Hungary against its neighbours. The future of Hungary can be founded only on a constructive policy with neighbouring countries, Europe and the whole world.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party expresses its solidarity for the reforms unfolding in the Soviet Union, and the endeavours of Mr Gorbachev's policy which strenghten the process of Hungarian renewal as well.

The Central Committee rejects the untrue, anti-communist views which make the party appear as the opposer of a democratic transformation. It is a historical fact that the HSWP has taken progressive steps since the 1960s, and this is something which is recognised internationally.

It is the historic responsibility of all Hungarian political forces to help avoid the dangers of extremist power which so often lead to crisis. The HSWP proposes cooperation in this with all political parties and powers, in order to save the country from heading towards another national tragedy.

The CC affirms that socialism can be achieved in Hungary under a new economic and political model. The goal is democratic socialism, a constitutional state, a parliamentary democracy based on a multi-party system and a market economy based on the decisive role of communal property.

The HSWP intends to operate as a political movement, concentrating on the solving of socio-economic problems, and winning the nation's support to do so, at free elections.

The party considers it essential that political activity, based on majority opinion, should be formulated as a result of wide-ranging debates held among representatives of various political platforms.

The CC supports the foreign policy trend serving national interests and based on international reality. According to its standpoint, Hungary should carry out its activity as a member of the Warsaw Treaty, for the reduction of armed forces and armaments, and the simultaneous dissolving of military alliances. It holds it of primary interest that Hungary should continue fostering its multilateral international ties, and for the country to take a bigger share in the economic and intellectual development of the world, especially Europe.

Barabas on Nyers Appointment

LD2506224889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Text] Through the assignment of party presidency, Rezso Nyers has become the top man of the party leadership. This was formulated at a session of the Central Committee. This was said by Janos Barabas, the newly elected Central Committee secretary, in the "Agora" radio program.

He also said that the formation of the party leadership is a result of a compromise between various currents, in order that the party should be able to prepare for a new period. Janos Barabas said that the currents within the party are not very well defined, and therefore the accord concluded between them is nothing more than an accord between persons.

Regarding the creation of a political Management Committee, Janos Barabas said that it comprises approximately 20 percent of Central Committee members and that this new body will direct work between two sessions of the Central Committee. The Presidium will fulfil a coordinating and a negotiating task. However, all this is purely assumption because the Central Committee has not determined in detail the tasks—it had laid down only directions. However, it is certain that the composition of the Party Presidium and its Political Management Committee displays a majority of radical reformers.

DIE WELT Interviews Nyers

LD2606101289 Budapest MTI in English 0934 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Bonn, June (MTI)—Socialism in western and northern Europe has assumed forms acceptable for society. We break with Stalinism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and take a stand for parliamentary democracy and a market economy, said Rezso Nyers, HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] president and minister of state, in an intervierw carried by the Monday issue of the influential conservative "DIE WELT". Mr Nyeres said that Hungary's trade would be reorientated towards the western industrial countries. Hungary will not increase its turnover with the CMEA States but seeks to improve the quality of trade. This is only conceivable with the countries that pursue, similarly to Hungary, market economy goals, namely the Soviet Union, Poland and Yugoslavia.

Mr Nyers indicated that talks were under way with the Soviet Union on essential changes in bilateral trade. Hungary would like to replace the transferable rouble by a convertible currency as a basis of accounting. It remains to be seen whether rouble accounting will be eliminated, but there would appear to be some hope, he said.

Mr Nyeres reconfirmed that there would be free elections in Hungary. He held it conceivable to form a coalition government if the new parties get more votes than the HSWP, but an opposition is an essential element of democracy. Hungary is capable of attaining democracy and pluralism in a peaceful way, Mr Nyeres said.

New Presidium Members Interviewed

LD2506202989 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Interview with Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, MSZMP; Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP; Premier Miklos Nemeth; and Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, the four members of the newly elected MSZMP Presidium, by unidentified presenter on "The Week" program; in television studio on 25 June; no video available—recorded]

[Text] [Presenter] Party Chairman Rezso Nyers, General Secretary Karoly Grosz, Premier Miklos Nemeth, Minister of State Imre Pozsgay. These four men together make up the new MSZMP Presidium, which was elected yesterday. I think that the viewers are very interested now in the question of which of you is now the top man of the MSZMP.

[Nyers] In my opinion this is not the fundamental political issue. We—the four of us—have undertaken, on the basis of the trust of the leading body of the party, to direct this party movement together. Thus, I do not regard the position of superiority or subordination as the decisive one. We will share out the tasks among ourselves, and on the most important political issues we will make the decisions together.

[Presenter] At the time of the May party conference, the institution of party chairman was created not least of all to find a transition for Janos Kadar. I suppose that you feel that this party chairmanship has quite a different authority.

[Nyers] Yes, Janos Kadar was in essence an honorary chairman; according to the stance now adopted, this is a substantive political function. In other words, the chairman plays an active part in leading the party; he chairs the session of the Central Committee and Politburo and carries out foreign political and, in part, certain domestic political tasks, together with the general secretary.

[Grosz] One should add though that originally the post of party chairman, created after the May party conference, arose on the basis of the idea that the party chairman would play an active part in political public life. Thus, there was significant difference between the original concept and what developed in practice. I think the fundamental reason for this is that Janos Kadar, primarily for health reasons, could no longer undertake the political, public activity which the party greatly needed during this period.

At the same time, it is perfectly true that this party chairmanship is of a significantly different kind. Nonetheless, it was the intention earlier on, as well, that the chairman should participate in political public life; it is also part of this picture that during previous debates we clarified the fact that we envisaged this post of party chairman in a final, long-term fashion, independently from the person who holds the post.

[Presenter] You were and still are the MSZMP general secretary. Is your function the same now as it was, let us say, on Thursday?

[Grosz] My function is essentially the same, though hopefully my task will be different in the future. Up to now in the course of work, I had to also assume those tasks that the previously envisaged chairman's role could not fulfill.

[Presenter] For example?

[Grosz] For example, in the sphere of international relations, the representation of the party was entirely left to me, even though the original idea was that the party chairman would play a much bigger role in the development of the party's international relations.

[Presenter] you are not talking of a protocol role now?

[Grosz] No, most definitely not. Of course there is a protocol role as well; protocol cannot be avoided, but it is the organization of party relations that is very important in international life. This is true not only with regard to relations with the socialist countries. The Hungarian party has traditionally extensive relations with the West European Workers' Movement and the West European Christian Movements; thus, this is a very wide-ranging activity. The way in which events are developing in the world will have an increasingly great effect on a small country such as ours. This was also a part of the original realization.

The other is an entirely new task, whose burdens will have be borne by Comrade Nyers. I purposely said, its burdens. When the earlier post of president was determined, the multiparty system was not then on the agenda. Now, it is necesssary to shape relations with the other parties, in a period of cooperation or debate and confrontation with the other parties. In the beginning I had to participate in this, but hopefully in the future Comrade Nyers will be able to undertake this activity. It follows from this that the task of the general secretary in the future will be much more than organization of party work, the coordination and organization of party internal life, and in addition, having these experiences, he has to participate in making decisions.

[Nemeth] I would like to add something to what has been said. I think that it is not sufficient and incorrect to approach this whole question on the basis of these personal and organizational aspects. What we regard as the most important thing is that during preparations for the congress, and even more importantly for the elections, the MSZMP should be transformed into a reform party in the process of renewal, and every organizational and personnel issue must be subordinated to this renewal. In this sense this Presidium has undertaken to determine and coordinate the most important tasks of the period before us, the direction of the operative work, and to some extent the strategic work. the president of the party leads the work of the Central Committee and of the newly created expanded body. I think that the maintenance of even close links with party organizations will become the dominant factor in the functions of the party general secretary.

[Presenter] I think that many people must have been surprised that Premier Miklos Nemeth has become a member of the party's leading body. After all, during your entire premiership it was often stressed that the government carries out its daily affairs independently of the party. Do you not perceive a danger that outsiders, or even the party membership, or future electors, will think that these two things separated for a while and then came together once again?

[Nemeth] I do not think that there is a contradiction here, though unquestionably there is some confusion regarding the interpretation. The government will continue to carry out its task with a defined independence and responsibility. We have made very considerable progress in the separation of the party-state since May 1988, and we must make progress in the future. However, in a transitional stage such as we are in at the present time, and thinking in terms of a new multiparty model of the future, I think it is necessary to coordinate the shaping of the government's strategy and the shaping of the party's electoral program. It was said at the session that the development of the party electoral program is inconceivable without a knowledge of the government strategy that is being evolved; after all, it has to be based on it.

[Presenter] There is, however, a point here where those unfamiliar with the internal affairs of the party might say: Here is a body that makes a decision; if there is unity, then this decision is compulsory for every member of that body. How can this be woven into everyday governmental practice?

[Pozsgay] The only way this can be done is if this body does not undertake to adopt governmental decisions and to coordinate them; that is, if it resolutely restricts itself to party political affairs, also in the sense in which those who spoke before me discussed this matter. In this way this confusion can be cleared up. After all, I can say what Miklos Nemeth did not say, namely that he is also present in this coordinating presidency as one of the party's political personalities. Let me add that if we place all this into the conditions of a politically articulated society and a multiparty system, then this will be the normal, perhaps even the routine, political practice.

[Nyers] In my opinion, looking at the interwining of the party and the state and at the prevention of this, the increase in the controlling role of the National Assembly is of great importance. This is not decreasing and cannot be diminished by now. This makes it clear that responsibility for government work appears from the side of the National Assembly, though this has to be coordinated somehow with the party's policy. However, it must not be done in the form of resolutions.

[Nemeth] I think that we can state—after all, this is something that we have openly discussed—that this Presidium and the wider body cannot bring in any decision that would restrict the scope of action and the independence of the government.

[Grosz] This is not something that is beginning now by the way, this is an approach which has strengthened during the last 2 years. This was formulated even prior to May 1988, as was the need for the party to gradually withdraw its presence from such specific executive areas, in which for decades it had provided positions for itself. Without this, the separation of the party from the state would be inconceivable. At the same time, the separation of the party from the state is not the same as the modern formulation of the cooperation between the party and the government. Everywhere in the world, in the multiparty structure—as Imre Pozsgay mentioned—the party that attains the best relative position in the elections provides the head of government, and the party-government relations develop creatively. There are many motivations regarding the style in which these relations develop. These include traditions, culture, and the relations of strength between the parties—one cannot predict this in advance.

[Presenter] All the more so because these things are still missing in our country.

[Grosz] Yes, they are missing, and we will have to produce them somehow. This cannot be set down in a thesis; it will have to be worked out as we go along.

[?Nemeth] But we are on the path in this direction.

[First unidentified participant] Yes, we are.

[Second unidentified participant] In this clearer situation, after the elections, the party must concentrate its forces in order to help the work of those in the government, so to speak, helping its members working in the state administration or in the National Assembly.

[?Nemeth] Helping but not dictating.

[Grosz] Yes, and this can be two things in particular. This is something that we discussed yesterday. One of these is that the party movement puts its political experience at the disposal of government work and, on the other side of this coin, that the political movement undertakes the endeavors of the government and represents them in society. The other is that once this transitional phase is over, the deputies nominated and supported by the party must support the government in the National Assembly, because it is the National Assembly from which the government asks for decisions and authorization. It is the National Assembly that supervises the government and in the assembly the representatives of the party must support its own government, in the spirit of the party's policy.

[Presenter] Of the four office holders, the fourth is Imre Pozsgay, who in the past—partly through his personality and partly through his actions—gave rather a lot of work to us journalists and also gave rather a lot of work to the leading bodies of the party, not always bringing forth agreement. Does the fact that you are now part of this body mean that your views have changed, or that the body's views have changed, or have the two come closer to each other?

[Pozsgay] There are various factors involved here—all those you have mentioned in your question. I think that the appearance and existence of this body does not reflect some sort of yielding but rather a very meaningful compromise. After all, at this Central Committee session there was open debate about the fact that there are various tendencies inside the party and that the freedom of platforms will be part of the future organizational principles, but on the basis of what has been said by the other participants in this conversation as well, what we have to seek now is the basis on which we can create unity. This must certainly not be done by extinguishing the various views and approaches giving rise to debate in the party, but by regarding them as sources of strength. These sources of strength must be reserved for the preparation of the congress and for the electoral battles to come.

[Presenter] Forgive me for interrupting you, but does this mean that between now and the elections, or until the congress, the four of you will contribute what you have in common, that is, the lowest common denominator, each one of you putting aside his own characteristic, though different, views, because this is the only way to help the party in a critical situation?

[Pozsgay] No, it is not that we put these things aside, rather that we bring that which we have in common. The common denominator has been established. The common denominator has come about in that in our opinion national interest and the organizational interest of the party coincide; that this party is a carrier of values and that it has a fundamental reform orientation; that there is a certain struggle between the reform tendencies but not on fundamental questions; that we all want democratic socialism; and that under the aegis of this demoractic socialism the conditions for cooperation exist organizationally as well. At the same time, this party must be ideologically open, especially since it is facing a period of struggle. It must be idealogically open in the sense that—as opposed to its earlier rigid structures—it must be capable of absorbing and digesting new ideas and clarifying them in the course of debates.

[Presenter] Let us stop here for a moment. Do you feel that if this body can demonstrate unity, this will automatically restore unity in the party as well? I know that this is a naive question, but this is on purpose.

[Nyers] This does not guarantee it yet, but in my opinion, it will make harmonization possible. After all, this debate has made it clear that it is not or was not with respect to the fundamental political line that we have or had differences. Having one's own face was necessary and correct in the past and will continue to be so. The differences concerned more the question of how, and this created misunderstandings in the wider party public opinion. Now this is not simply a group picture but really expresses some sort of community of endeavors and in my opinon at the level of the central leadership this has expressed the community of trust as well.

[Presenter] What about the level of the party membership? What will be the organizing principle that will at least until the congress or at least until the elections, if not bring together in friendship the previously sharply debating groups and tendencies, at least find some sort of modus vivendi?

[Grosz] Look, I think it is important to make clear that there are more tendencies in this party than there are people sitting here.

[Presenter] In other words, there are important tendencies that do not find a representative among you.

[Nemeth] Absolutely.

[Unidentified participant] I cannot say whether they are important or not, but there are certainly such tendencies.

[Grosz] It is inconceivable that there should be only four tendencies in the party. This is a big party. It has more than 700,000 members. This whole society is in the process of a great transformation. We have decided to create a new political model. What do we know in this respect? One thing we know is what we do not want, and another is that we more or less know the direction and the goal.

[Presenter] Are you in agreement on what you do not want?

[Grosz] In my opinion, we are totally in agreement on what we do not want.

[Presenter] Can you formulate it briefly; what is the basis of this agreement?

[Grosz] It is that the old political structure has exhausted all its reserves and possibilities and—forgive me for the crude expression—that it is impossible to go along this road by patching up and mending things. For the Hungarian nation, the country, this cannot be a program—this is a dead end. It is possible to live with it for a year or two; it is possible to adjust it with personnel changes; it is possible to bring some reserves to the surface; but in this political structure there are no longer any real reserves.

[Nyers] In brief, we do not want the old model. The old model must be cast aside. Of course, this is not the 40 years [as heard].

[Grosz] This is not a case of casting aside the 40 years, it is the discarding of a political structure.

[Nyers] It is discarding the model that got us to where we are, and patching up, mending, or reforming this model cannot be allowed. This is what we do not want.

[Unidentified participant] That is certain.

[Grosz] It is through a joint struggle that we have come to recognize that there is a need for changing models. This was a joint struggle for a year. This was preceded by very many debates; it was not a question of somebody saying that there has to be an immediate change and everyone else lining up behind him. One year is a very short time in the life of a party to reach such an essential recognition. There is full unity on this, and also on the question of the direction we want to follow. We want democratic socialism and a system of institutions appropriate to it. We can more or less formulate this for ourselves, though not perfectly. Nor is it possible; after all, there is no such practice yet and we do not want to adopt any other model. We want a Hungarian model, but in this we want to utilize every other experience.

[Presenter] Forgive me, but are you sure that your colleagues present here mean precisely the same thing by democratic socialism as you mean by it?

[Grosz] As much as I mean by it, we all meant the same in the debates. What we have not spoken about yet is namely the differences, and this is not something that I can tell.

[?Pozsgay] There is obviously a unity here because the basic question is the rejection of the old model. In this regard there is a unity of purpose within this Presidium. This also means that the current even today constitutes the proletarian dictatorship, and which even today decides, within old and long obsolete anachronistic organizational forms, the management of society on a kind of patriarchal and superior basis.

[Presenter] They are not here among you, but they are present among the party.

[Pozsgay] They are present in the party but they are not here. However, if the party program evolves then it will be along a line of demarcation in making this decision. I believe that a majority of the Hungarian party membership—which after all has been reared on ideas of reform during the past 20-30 years—is able to understand the significance of this turning point. Also the fact that this could have happened suggests that in the background there is a majority that wanted it this way.

Another thing is that the MSZMP participated in changing the model and that the party itself was really the initiator in preparing the turning point. It should subject itself to a kind of popular assessment; it wants to have received from the people its legitimacy, and the legality of its operation, whereas in the past it had always tried to explain this from a theoretical, academic, and mission consciousness. This has an enormous political significance and if we accept this—and the four of us here accept this—then this is a very significant force to create unity.

[Nyers] I would add two things which I consider significant in the wake of the recent talks. One is that the MSZMP considers its task to raise the standard of the nation in the future. This country needs socialist values for a resurgence while at the same time we do not consider our beliefs to be exclusive. We know that these need to be rethought and reformulated. We also know that others too believe in the country.

We are now seeking the help of those who primarily want bourgeois values, freedom, and, who want to make these values prevail. We have become fellow travelers with these forces and until democracy is complete we shall not become one.

The second thing—or the third—which I would like to mention is that our historical past is not completely clarified. However, in my view it has been possible to clarify a large proportion of it in such a away that we have a common denominator in assessing the past. This, of course, relates to the first question: We unambiguously consider the policy of the 1950's as erroneous. It was the one which in this country we consider to be the wrong path, a mistaken one. This relates to the changing of model. Issues still remain to be clarified with regard to questions of the recent past, the immediate past, but these can be clarified.

[Nemeth] I would just make a remark regarding the unity and disunity with which we started the discussion. Even under the circumstances of a one-party system there have been numerous currents within the MSZMP; it is another question whether and with what force did they manifest themselves. I consider the period since May 1988 as a great advance, and do so in the spirit of strengthening democracy. These currents have become open and they have resulted in clashes. One must not approach the idea of unity through old eyes, because should we do that we would go back to the old mistake. It is through debates, through the struggles of platforms continuously forming and modernizing that we must always reach a stage when it becomes possible, on the basis of experiences, to speak about the things, the values that can be worked out in order for us to progress. We should call this party a program party, or a politicking party.

And while this party itself acts in this way, it must in the meantime watch the various interest groups of society, or—if you like—the entire society, the people. It may be that we can be satisfied with a platform, or a so-called common unity. But if society, the people, are not satisfied with it then we will have done precious little...

[Presenter, interrupting] Excuse me, the party leadership, the leadership, in the first place, until now has digested with rather considerable difficulty the open appearance of this platform. In the second place the open platform debate has taken place at the basic levels and has brought up fairly frequently the question of a party split. So I sense a kind of contradiction here in that we now are aiming at a kind of minimal unity, while at the same time we want a platform debate, we want to avoid a party split.

[Pozsgay] Well now, the party split as a kind of good deed to be avoided has been resolved by the Central Committee. It has been discussed now; it was raised in February too. But we are in a special situation and the thought of a party split and the idea of secession from the party are not evil thoughts either. I will simply say why in my view it would be irrational and why it would have a disintegrating effect. The alarm itself stems from the fact that the various currents and trends have appeared not in an organized but in an underground form, or in partisan action within the party organization. The existing party statutes have not given real possibility, while our customs have received such expressions even with grumbling...

[Presenter, interrupting] With retorts, what's more...

[Pozsgay, interrupting] Even with retorts. And it must be through institutionalization that this should appear not as a deviation, a kind of irregular behavior, but as a natural part of party life. Let me mention one more thing in respect to the secession from the party as the dialectics of unity and separation: In this regard too, the circumstances of a multiparty system must also be recalculated.

In the past, a party member found it extremely difficult to decide about his role in the party. Now there are attractions outside of the party too. Thus he can also decide on this basis, not only on the basis of disillusionment and doubt about the party's effectiveness. And while in the past, within the frameworks of a monopolistic and monolithic system, the secession from the party had a character of excommunication, ostracism—with all its psychological pressure, torturous form—now it will be a political choice. After this, I think, more people will remain in the party than in the past. I consider this as a peculiar paradox, because it is not disintegration which will take place but a decision, a question of personal decision.

[Grosz] Let me just comment on your basic question. First of all, a lot has taken place within a year, an incredible amount, primarily in the manner of thought and in approach. Not a little has taken place in terms of organization either, but a great deal in thinking. The other thing is that the variety existing (?below) will be rearranged when the leadership, the party, has its central platform, thus the relationship will be able to measure the variety of currents. [sentence as heard]

[Presenter] In simple language: Will it accept it or not?

[Grosz] It will not accept it. Will it accept something from it or not? Is it possible to answer so simply as to whether it needs the whole or not? [indistinct interruptions] ...Whether it can accept the decisive proportion of it or not. Now, we should protect ourselves very much from employing some kind of administrative means against those who do not accept the platform: expulsion or excommunication. However, this will be raised in a new way, too—as Imre Pozsgay said—because in a multiparty system, if this program is not attractive to the individual, he will seek another program and join it.

At the same time, it (?must be) conceivable that there will have to be a minimal organizational order and discipline in the party because otherwise it would not be a party but some kind of club. Therefore [Grosz changes thought] however these must prevail primarily in the issues ensuring the unity of action of the party and not in the issues of content, first of all. Thus, I believe that what you have asked, that is, how the unity will be worked out at lower levels, does not depend on the fact that the four of us are now here, it does not depend primarily on that, but on whether we are able to formulate until, let's say 7 October, the day of the congress, a program that is unambiguous, comprehensible, clear, and regarding which every single party member—particularly after the congress—will decide his relationship to it.

In politics 1 year, 1 ½ years, is a very very short time. It cannot be expected that the country that has been observing social processes with a different frame of mind for 40 years can change its approach within minutes.

[Nyers] I agree with this. I would remark that at the same time, the party leadership must be able to dissociate itself from extremes, such extremes that disturb and dirty the basic units of the party membership.

[?Presenter] It is not only the leadership, but the platform too, the program too, must dissociate itself...

[Nyers] The program too, but here I am talking about the leadership because we are here representing the leadership. I think that it must dissociate itself from such an extreme which—it has been mentioned here already—wants to manage Hungarian society through the dictatorship of the proletariat, in this period of socialism, having only one truth and being exclusively in the right. They are within the party but they are an extreme.

[Presenter] Do you regard them as the greatest danger within the party?

[Nyers] I regard this as the greater danger today within the party.

[Presenter] Do you agree with this? [Two or three voices answer yes]

[Nyers] However, another danger now exists within the party, I think, which I would call the exclusivity of the ultra-reformism. This ultra-reform wing also endeavors to achieve exclusivity; it aims at dictates instead of constructive disputes within the party and in my view we must dissociate ourselves from this as well. However, I feel that the greater danger within the party is still the first one [the conservative].

Regarding society, which is another question; well, there too we must disssociate ourselves from extremes—there are different extremes here, not precisely of these kinds.

[Presenter] If you please, I propose to step a little bit outside of the framework of the party because sooner or later, the MSZMP will also be forced to do so. The congress which will begin on 7 October and the election campaign to be launched sometime after that will force it to do so. What will be your task in the preparation of the congress and in the adjustment of the party for the election campaign?

[Grosz] Well, it is easy to answer that the task of the party leadership is to very clearly formulate those main directions that it considers desirable to be accepted and represented by the party movement. In other words, there is a need for it to find those focal points in which the movement can best represent the interests of society. This, obviously, requires an analytical and political workshop of activity. It does not take place just simply by basic organizations individually perceiving these out of thin air. The party leadership must be in touch with the wide community of its party membership and it is on the basis of their experiences that it must formulate all thoughts which, in an election competition, provide—in its view—the best, the most optimal chance to gain a good position.

In other words, I think that the primary task of the leadership is to give spiritual direction to the entire party movement which the members can represent and which is as close as possible to the interests of society as a whole. Of course, it cannot cover all the interests of Hungarian society; that would be absurd and our party cannot do this. Some time ago it was an objective, but today it cannot be done. However, it must be seen clearly that we are a party of the working people: the workers, the peasants, and the working intelligensia. But we do not cover even that completely because at the same time our party is socialist and left-wing in approach; so this too narrows us in certain aspects.

[Presenter] What will be the relationship between the MSZMP and the opposition in the next two important periods? [Word indistinct] simply negotiations are taking place with the opposition roundtable which are aimed at cooperation. At the same time, everywhere around the world it is the same: The minute the election campaign begins, all previous cooperation becomes a political struggle.

[Pozsgay] I think that the relationship will be polemical; surely there will be sharp debates with the opposition in the election campaign. However, the current negotiations are not aimed at eliminating debates, at removing them from public life; instead they are creating safe, correct, and democratic conditions so that in this debate nobody uses intolerant and violent means. It is no longer only the MSZMP that must guarantee this, but all the negotiating parties must come to a joint agreement. In other words, with regard to the so-called fundamental laws, confidence must be created so that everybody believes in the rule of law and that they will be consistently applied in the election campaign. No single party will enjoy special advantages, special preferences in this struggle. In my view, if we can agree on this, then after that it will be the struggle that will be characteristic and the struggle...

[Presenter, interrupting] Just as a footnote, these fundamental laws must be refined as to what they are because a great number of parliamentary deputies have become uncertain as to whether a particular law belongs to these, that is, whether we should wait for it or...

[Pozsgay, interrupting] I very much hope that the National Assembly deputies also understand—and what is more will support—the previous standpoint, according to which the MSZMP accepted at the negotiating table the role of waiting for it, that is, that from now on we should not bring draft fundamental laws to the National Assembly without a popular consensus. The election act also covers, for example, political parties, the drafting of the constitution, the constitutional court, and the presidency. We accepted that these will be submitted by the government to the National Assembly only after prior negotiations and coordination.

Under no circumstances is this aimed against the National Assembly's sovereignty; rather, the government should do the preparatory work for legislation. And if my fellow deputies understand it—and I believe they do—then they will know that they are participating in an event of enormous significance. Should it not take place, their legitimacy will be questioned again.

[Presenter] To put it simply, will cooperation exist until the beginning of the election campaign, and after that the swords will be drawn and the fighting will begin?

[Nemeth] It is the shared responsibility of the leadership, here within the MSZMP, in the government, and in the parties already existing or in the process of being formed, that those fundamental legal institutional conditions, within which the real competitive situation can prevail, should be shaped up by us. Now, if there are differences of views in this regard, then—and we also emphasize the popular consensus and the joint responsibility for the future—it is, I think, democratic and natural that we listen to each other about these fundamental legal institutional conditions, laws. However, at the same time, this does not mean that after all, we are talking about laws of European standard. We did not describe these as such but it was those from abroad who are familiar with these laws which the government prepared—that it would be possible to prolong these indefinitely with some kind of obstructionist behavior. [sentence as heard]

[Nyers] These constitutional milestone laws must not be pushed through while causing conflict, because they cannot be resolved in that way. Very many political issues are resolved after conflict. A constitutional opposition should operate. However, in any country with a constitution, it was accomplished only in the spirit of some kind of fundamental cooperation, common will. In this we must reach an agreement and the party political aspects, so to speak, must be removed from this fundamental constitution creation process.

[Presenter] There are two more issues I would like to deal with, which, in my view, particularly preoccupies people. The assumption according to which the party that will win the election or the party that will gain absolute majority is the one able to come forward with a composed and, for everybody, a convincing economic program is common.

[Nemeth] We have been working a long time on an economic program. It is taking shape. It appears that the government will be ready with it by autumn. Here, however, I would like to say that it is not possible with pretty slogans and resounding sentences alone, to change the tensions, structural problems of 40 years, the social policy, social tensions still existing in society. Here, there will be a need for a good number of years for solidarity, for undertaking hard sacrifices. At the same time, it is clear that we have to be able to break with the hitherto restrictive economic policy and with the economic management practice. Thus, there is a simultaneous need for enterprise, for developing a market economy, a mixed-property economy, and for a new type, a new kind of opening, an open foreign trade policy.

Only on this basis and with an invigoration of the economy... [changes thought] of course, in another structure is it possible to satisfy, on the one hand, the debt obligations, and on the other hand, the social policy expectations and demands that are real. [indistinct interruption]

[Nyers] For all this, some kind of extra source of capital is also necessary. There is too little money for this.

[Nemeth] There is too little money. There is a need for outside sources. That is why it is very important that our assessment, our internal political stability, remain, so that the world's judgment of us be like other assessments, of which there are quite fine examples. Because, on its own, Hungary will not be able to pull itself out of this difficult situation.

[Grosz] However, a program is not possible from any party that is able to (?handle) every economic issue in a manner so that it represents the interests of every social stratum.

[Presenter] What Comrade Miklos Nemeth has outlined...

[Nemeth, interrupting] I would like to say that I disagree with the reasoning that the party that puts forth an economic program will win. I think this is too narrow. Here, it is necessary to speak out about social policy, in the wider sense, about education, about culture. Thus, my conviction is that it is not enough to stand forth with only a good economic program.

[Presenter] I only said that someone who does not run with a good platform does not stand a chance. However, what you have said is basically reflected in the platforms of lots of other parties. I believe the finance minister said: Even if someone else sits in my place tomorrow—a (?representative of another party—he would not be able to do anything very different). What will make the platform formulated by the MSZMP more credible than the other party platforms which are similar in terms of the economic aspects?

[Nemeth] Everything depends on performance, that is, what is done in practice. Public opinion will judge on the basis of actions backing up words. In this sense, the credibility of our platform will depend on our actions. It is necessary to undertake and proclaim platforms and points that can be implemented in practice, step by step from year to year.

[Nyers] I would point out that the MSZMP has the most wide-ranging international relations at present—it is not certain that this will always be the case—but this is so at present and it will be valid for the coming years; I dare say this applies both in regard to the West and in regard to the East. This could be very fruitful for the nation if we are able to use it well; it is also somewhat linked to the issue of credibility.

[Presenter] You have given the final word for the final topic that I would like to touch on: the world's judgment of us. The unusual picture is taking shape that, while the processes taking place in Hungary are watched from afar in the West, with concerned sympathy, this sympathy is not, to put it mildly, manifested in some socialist countries among our immediate neighbors. What can the newly elected leading body of the MSZMP do and what does it want to do, so that the suspicion, the fear in some socialist countries is dispelled?

[Pozsgay] I believe that only a credible policy can indicate direction here. From this viewpoint, in the matter of sympathy and attention, I consider it extremely important that the reforms in the Soviet Union led by Gorbachev are close to us and that they constitute a strong backdrop for the Hungarian initiatives as well. This is why I consider every anti-Soviet manifestation to be extremely dangerous, from a national viewpoint as well. At present, it is this Soviet Union which we are friendly with and we would like to develop this friendship into a partnership in the spirit of independence.

In regard to the neighbors: Again I say that what comes out of the manifestations is the same as what comes out of your question. I am not sure that public opinion is united on these matters. I also believe there may be sympathetic public opinion in these same countries, while at the same time the official reactions are sometimes critical; sometimes they are, let me say, unfriendly. Finally, again I believe here that the correct relationship ought to be developed that, with the exception of the matter of human rights—we agreed in Helsinki that they are not internal matters—we will respect other countries' plans for their own setups. We do not wish to be anyone's shepherd.

Regarding ideological ideas and ideas concerning our situation, we only ask that they respect our intention, at least in our country. Finally, I trust that the common lot among these neighbors is stronger than the opposition. And here, political cooperation is very possible, even with different setups, and in my view that is the long-term outlook.

[Nemeth] In agreement with what has been said, there is also pluralism between the countries. I believe that it is very important that we become better acquainted with each other and that we better understand each other; we should not qualify and brand each other. In the seventies this characterized relations between the socialist countries. It would not be correct to return to this path, even if the papers or certain statements in other countries were to, let us say, bother the Hungarian leadership. We have our own model, on which we are working and which we are building, but we do not recommend this model to anyone else.

[Grosz] There is another cross-section of life, if you allow me to say so. I sense that in neighboring countries it is not primarily the antipathy regarding our efforts which is most salient; rather, they are afraid that we will not be able to develop the processes in a good direction. We will not be able to keep a handle on events. Thus, it is not antipathy that I consider to be salient; rather, it is the fear that matters here will become uncontrollable and that they will become the source of unpredictable events in this region.

[Nyers] The antipathy can be switched off and it should be switched off, by virtue of it being necessary for us to be able to make them accept a variety of socialist forms, as a general socialist interest and value. In my view, the basic concern is that there might be a destabilization in Eastern Europe, that an uncontrolled process might take place. This destabilization would endanger the world situation as well. There is a certain anxiety in the West as well in this regard. We must make it clear that we do not want to be, and will not be, a factor of destabilization in this East European, east-central European region.

[Grosz] And for this, we also ask for the support of the various parties that are now being formed, because it is a national interest, a European interest, and a world interest. So, here it is very important that we find joint cooperation on this point; otherwise the country will be unable to follow its chosen path to the end.

[Presenter] In conclusion, I would appreciate it if you could help me to satisfy the viewers' curiosity. My question is very easy: How do each of you see yourselves in, let us say, December 1989? What do you want to be doing at that time? What are you thinking of? What is realistic? Pozsgay.

[Pozsgay] We will be beyond the party congress; hopefully in the spirit of political unity, we will have a partnership with the other parties in the arena, with parties wanting to win according to the rules of the game and according to the ethics of the game. In games, the one who is ethical is not the one who favors the other, but the one who wants to win: himself. By that time, the legal and constitutional preconditions for this will exist. I believe that this is the political environment that will determine or influence my personal conduct as well. It is impossible to know whether we will have already had National Assembly elections or whether we will have them ahead of us. If we have them ahead of us, this struggle will take place in the spirit of the previously mentioned ethics.

Regarding my personal situation, I believe that like all of our colleagues who think likewise, I will have to act carefully and convincingly, under the burden of a very great responsibility. I was very honored at the Central Committee session when it was decided that, insofar as the legislation provides for a president, I will be nominated for president. Thus, I have to mentally prepare for this struggle and for this task with a sense of national responsibility.

[Presenter] Miklos Nemeth.

[Nemeth] I have my tasks in government. It is important that we accomplish these tasks successfully, not only from the viewpoint of the party, of the MSZMP, but of the entire country, of the people. Thus, in this sense the government also has a national responsibility. We have already submitted a partial or short-term package to parliament. The drawing up of the program and strategy for the next 2-3 years is now on the table. I trust that this will be a program for successfully moving away from the standstill; I hope that parliament approves it and that we will be able to work on implementing it in December too. Party political struggle: If we must prepare for elections then, this naturally may also affect the ideas and positions of all of us.

[Presenter] Karoly Grosz.

[Grosz] My situation is the simplest. If we have elections ahead of us, I will want to do public work among the political leadership. If the elections are behind us, I will wish to help policy through voluntary work.

[Presenter] Can I conclude from this that you will not want to engage in politics actively, as a main occupation?

[Grosz] Actively engaging in politics and main occupation are not the same thing. They are two different things. [indistinct interruption] As long as I live and am healthy, I will always want to engage in politics actively. [laughter]

[?Nyers] Do not make such statements in advance. I have had bad experiences many times.

[Presenter] Regarding the main occupation?

[Grosz] By all means, I want to take part in political public life—whether this is so as a main occupation or whether it is not. However, it must not be forgotten for a minute that it is not a party worker but his party who has command over his fate. I shall serve as I am commanded.

[Pesenter] Rezso Nyers.

[Nyers] I hope that the MSZMP, as a party, will be a party which is more cohesive, more resolute in its objectives, and more successful in its methods. And I hope that the Hungarian democracy which is unfolding will be stronger and that the MSZMP will be able to make its own contribution to this democratization process with the recognition of the people.

[Presenter] And your role in this?

[Nyers] My role is this certain intraparty integration, the building of a bridge between the parties. Well, I would like to accomplish this successfully.

[Presenter] Thank you very much for the conversation.

Romania Dismantles Some Border Fencing

LD2606110189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] [Presenter] We could see curious pictures in the television newsreel: Tight-stretched barbed wire separates the Hungarian-Romanian border. We could hear that Romania has also placed such obstacles along its shared border with Yugoslavia. At the same time, we also received news that at international forums, Romania is denying the existence of the new iron curtain. It appears that the dilemma between the pictures and the allegations is being dissolved: The fence is being dismantled. Eva Cseh reports:

[Cseh] It was only just erected, but already the barbed wire fence is being modestly dismantled by the Romanian side along the County Bekes stretch of the border. As I learned at the Orashaza border guard district command, it was on Saturday that the border guards noticed this work, and already on that day, opposite the Kotegyan outpost, for example, the obstacles that stands in the way of refugees had disappeared. At Lokoshaza, at 0700 yesterday, the border guard on duty reported having seen the fence, but by the evening there was no trace of the barbed wire. At Mezohegyes, only the posts remained standing. At Battonya, on two shorter stretches, and at Biharugra, barbed wire is still remaining at lengths of 1 kilometer.

On the other hand, at the ends of the earth roads leading to the border on the Romanian side—probably likewise for the purpose of closing off the path, they have dumped a truck load of sand. The Oroshaza border guard district command will today assess where—if at all—there still remains any barbed wire fence on the other side of the 300-km stretch of the border.

Tabajdi To Face Party Disciplinary Charges

LD2306185389 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] The Central Committee has suspended Csaba Tabajdi, deputy head of the Foreign Affairs Department, and has begun disciplinary proceedings against him. The reason is two statements that he made.

In interviews given to Italian papers, Csaba Tabajdi said that our country's defense policy must be reviewed because, in his view, the real danger comes from the southeast. He also said that the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party general secretary has lost his credibility and should be replaced by a reform politician.

At present, Csaba Tabajdi is on vacation abroad; the investigation will begin when he returns.

Youth Groups Demonstrate in Gdansk, Krakow

LD2506210989 Warsaw PAP in English
2004 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 25—Small but noisy groups of Youth of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN), the Federation of Fighting Youth, the Independent Students' Association (NZS), the Fighting Solidarity and the Anarchist International staged today protests in Gdansk and Krakow, chanting anti-Soviet and anti-communist slogans well known from similar previous incidents. Order enforcing forces did not intervene.

The KPN attempted also to stage such a rally in Lublin but the attempt failed.

Walesa Addresses Solidarity Representatives

LD2306134589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Deputies' Club is gathering for its first meeting in Warsaw today. Solidarity deputies and senators have also met. Our correspondent, Adam Dubko, reports:

[Dubko] A meeting of Solidarity parliamentary members began at 1030 in the Auditorium Maximum of Warsaw University. This is the first meeting of this circle since the elections. During the proceedings, it is anticipated that three main problems will be discussed: Firstly, the creation of a deputies' club or clubs—the decision concerning this will be made in the process of discussions; secondly, the creation of presidias of the Sejm and Senate and their composition; thirdly, the most pressing parliamentary tasks for the first session of the Sejm. The meeting is being chaired by Lech Walesa, who began by saying: I am here without your mandate, only as the one who fought alongside you. I wanted to leave you alone, because it is you who are to take decisions, it is you who are meeting and not Lech Walesa, who has no right. My role is ending. It is you who are to decide: president, premier. I am imposing nothing. I am a worker and I would like to leave you and return as quickly as possible to my duties.

'Solidarity' Civic Parliamentary Club Founded

LD2306174389 Warsaw PAP in English
1413 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 23 (PAP) - Senators and Sejm deputies elected from the Solidarity recommendation, debating here today under the chairmanship of Lech Walesa, founded the "Solidarity" Civic Parliamentary Club.

Professor Bronislaw Geremek was elected chairman of the club and Andrzej Wielowieyski vice-chairman. The club affiliates senators as well as Sejm deputies.

More on 'Solidarity' Club

AU2306195789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1800 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] During Lech Walesa's meeting with deputies elected to the Sejm and Senate from the list of the "Solidarity" Citizens Committee, it was decided to create a joint citizens' parliamentary club. It was decided that Bronislaw Geremek would be chairman of the club, and Andrzej Wielowieyski would be vice chairman. At a news conference, Janusz Onyszkiewicz said that the meeting had not reached a final decision as to the stance of the "Solidarity" side vis-a-vis the choice of president. Nevertheless, the discussion had been dominated by the view that during the vote for president, "Solidarity" deputies and senators should be guided by their own conscience. [words indistinct]

Orzechowski Interviewed on Election to Sejm

AU2306130489 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
20 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by Jerzy Pilczynski: "Let's Not Divide Ourselves Into Black and White"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Pilczynski] Professor, we have heard unofficial news that you have been elected Sejm deputy for Koszalin. Congratulations.

[Orzechowski] Thank you.

[Pilczynski] How does a member of the core of the PZPR leadership feel to be elected to the Sejm as the result of a campaign that only lasted 4 days?

[Orzechowski] The situation was indeed an exceptional one, but I feel satisfied. The other contestant for seat no 441, Kazimierz Cypryniak, and I both made the most of these several days. We held over a dozen meetings, attended by a total of several thousand voters from every milieu in the region. There were interviews and reports in the local press, radio, and television. There were phone-ins at the offices of GLOS POMORZA and "Radio Baltic." The voters made their decision on the basis of all this.

[Pilczynski] What kind of program did you present?

[Orzechowski] I made it clear on every occasion that my election program is the same program that was put forth by my party's 10th plenum and expounded at the National Conference of Delegates. My personal election slogan was: "The Poles can afford modernity! Poland has no time! Poland has to hurry! I am in favor of a grand coalition government."

[Pilczynski] Exactly, a grand coalition. Do you really think it is feasible today?

[Orzechowski] I think it would be the best solution, which does not mean it is completely feasible right away. The people nominated by "Solidarity" chairman Lech Walesa's Citizens Committee have occupied 99 seats in the Senate and not less than 35 percent of the seats in the Sejm. In this situation, is it possible to form an effective government if it only gains the support of the coalition of three parties and three Catholic associations? I think society placed its trust in "Solidarity" because it sees it as a creative force that guarantees profound changes for the better in Poland. That is a commitment. It is not enough to stand on the sidelines and pass judgments.

[Pilczynski] The slogan "grand coalition" is interpreted in various ways.

[Orzechowski] I think that the most feasible idea right now is to achieve the kind of parliamentary accord that will permit all the social forces represented in parliament to form a kind of government of national trust. This should be a government whose program and members enjoy broad support from the Sejm, society, and our foreign partners. I do not agree with the calls for a depoliticized government, a government of apolitical experts. These are artificial labels and structures. After all, the present government also has experts. The point is that the new government's program and the ways of implementing it should conform to the expectations not only of the political groups that make up the 10th Sejm, but most of all of society.

[Pilczynski] Is that not too idealistic? After all, despite expectations, the campaign was clearly a confrontational one.

[Orzechowski] Despite everything, I am in a positive frame of mind. However, I agree that everything depends on the political will and real intentions of each side, and especially on a proper social climate, which we should form together. Right now the social climate is not too good! I must admit that I completely fail to understand the propaganda and political language used by nearly everyone today. A mentality of opposing fronts and camps has spread. There is talk of "the scene after the battle," society is being divided into supporters and opponents of the authorities, and so on. In my view, all this should disappear into history as quickly as possible after 18 June. Let me say this straight. Let us stop dividing ourselves artificially into camps. We have had various camps in the past. Today we have scout camps, and that is enough. There is no "ruling camp," "opposition camp," or " Solidarity camp" today. As a result of the elections, "Solidarity" people have become part of the authorities (legislative authorities for the time being).

[Pilczynski] But that was the language employed by the "roundtable." [Orzechowski] All right, but a lot has changed since then. Even the habit of dividing Poles into different sides is becoming anachronistic. For instance, there is talk of a "coalition-government" side. What does that mean in a situation where the government's social base must expand and exceed the framework of the coalition so far? And take the expression "Solidarity-opposition" side. What does that euphemism mean in a situation where the opposition in the new parliament consists of nothing but "Solidarity" people? Let us call a spade a spade. Let us talk of parties and associations, of Lech Walesa's Citizens Committee; let us talk of political groups. And let us not forget the 10 million citizens who ignored the election calls both of "Solidarity" and coalition. What a great electorate that mistrusts each side, or in any case does not support any side. A forceful division of society into two camps and perpetuating this division is not only a glaring violation of reality, but is also dangerous and careless. It pushes us toward "black against white" or "good against bad" conflicts, and summons up the specter of 1981 quite unnecessarily. I suggest we create a new political and propaganda culture that corresponds to the real picture of our society and its aspirations. Let us not slide on the surface of phenomena, let us not repeat old and invalid patterns. Then I hope it will be easier to understand each other and reach an accord with each other more wisely, quickly, and permanently.

Mazowiecki on Successful Elections, Solidarity

AU2606094789 Vienna PROFIL in German
26 Jun 89 pp 58-59

[Interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, editor in chief of the weekly SOLIDARNOSC and "one of Lech Walesa's closest advisors," by Jacek Kubiak: "There Is a Tear in the Movement"; date, place not given]

[Text] PROFIL: What price should the government pay for the election defeat?

Mazowiecki: There is the opinion that the price should be a Solidarity government. In my view, this goes too far. One has to take into account the fact that it was not possible to decide everything in these elections. The Army and the police are still in the hands of the ruling party; the elections have not changed anything in this respect. However, I believe that in parliament we are now strong enough to enforce reforms.

PROFIL: What does this involve?

Mazowiecki: Further democratization, an independent judiciary, freedom and pluralism in the mass media. The free elections for regional self-administration (local elections—the editors) should be advanced and take place in about a year. Not before, because we also need time to prepare ourselves.

PROFIL: Do you hope that democratic parties will be formed?

Mazowiecki: It may be speeded up. However, for this, too, we need time. Today there are numerous groups in the opposition, but no parties that can be taken seriously.

PROFIL: Has Solidarity not become a party itself?

Mazowiecki: In the West it is seen as such, but this is not true. Solidarity is an opposition front which, by the way, does not represent the entire opposition. Political directions will evolve out of it. This process still has to take place.

PROFIL: What are the consequences that are to be expected in the Communist Party after the government's election disaster?

Mazowiecki: This depends on whether those in power decide to continue the reforms. The opponents of change will say: "What have you done!" If the reformers win, they will be more cautious in the future.

PROFIL: It is often said that the Communist Party will decay.

Mazowiecki: I do not believe this, this would be unique in the East Bloc. In such critical situations the temptation to use force has always dominated.

PROFIL: The Soviet Union is busy with its own problems, in Hungary the democratization process is advancing quickly, as it is in Poland. Are these not favorable conditions for new developments?

Mazowiecki: The party leadership is more or less aware that it cannot continuously use the geopolitical situation as a legitimation of its rule. Many things have already happened which originally seemed improbable to us. Thus, there might also be a split in the Communist Party. However, historical experience and the recent events in China show that a backward development is always possible.

PROFIL: You are one of the best known people of Solidarity. Why did you not run in the elections?

Mazowiecki: I did not think that all leading members of Solidarity had to run. One should distribute the role. Furthermore, there was a controversy in putting up the candidates. I thought that the candidates should have been put up by a negotiation body composed of representatives of various political movements. However, this was not done.

PROFIL: The lack of democracy in the movement is painful to many people.

Mazowiecki: I think that democratic mechanisms will form within the opposition. On the one hand, understanding has to be reached between the trade union, its Sejm deputies, and its senators. On the other hand, a public debate about the internal problems of the movement has to be held. This is the central task of our weekly.

PROFIL: At the moment, some readers say that they start to yawn when they read the paper.

Mazowiecki: This is malicious talk. There is no reason for yawning. However, I admit that we have certain problems. We started too early. Actually, the editorial board is still being formed. However, we wanted to publish the first edition before the elections; this was not without importance in view of our circulation of 500,000 copies. The paper is certainly open for the internal debates of our movement.

PROFIL: Immediately after the election victory there was a conflict, because the Solidarity National Committee called for the dissolution of the "citizens' committees" which had been formed for the elections. But these committees did not agree. Was this not a rebellion of the trade union apparatus against the political elite of the movement?

Mazowiecki: The matter is more complicated. On the one hand, the trade union feared being dominated by a structure which is similar to a centralist party. On the other hand, there is the problem of those people who have organized themselves in the citizens' committees, who have been successful, and who now want to continue their work.

PROFIL: For many trade unionists, for former underground leaders, the committees are the reservoir of, above all, Catholic intellectuals, who suddenly claim the role of workers' leaders. They consider the citizens' committees as "opposition wearing slippers," as an underground newspaper said.

Mazowiecki: I see this differently. The priority matter is the reconstruction of the trade union. Everyone knows how difficult the economic situation is. An explosive situation might develop, which threatens the political solutions that have already been achieved. Therefore, the trade union has to become a strong force that is able to negotiate. Otherwise, the political position of those whom you call the political elite is also in danger.

PROFIL: Is this not already the case? When the Solidarity leadership accepted the completion of the (Communist Party) national list, this caused harsh protests by the basis. People speak about "alienated top politicians." Is this not a rift in the camp of the victors?

Mazowiecki: This is not true. There is a rift in the movement. Actually, it was already preconceived in the concept of the elections. We pursued the election campaign with the slogan "We will win," but the elections could not be won. The mandates were divided between the opposition and the ruling coalition beforehand. From the very beginning there was this contradiction, which now exploded.

GAZETA WYBORCZA on 2d Round Elections

LD1906190489 Warsaw PAP in English
1727 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 19—The second round does not determine the political image of any of the houses separately, writes today's GAZETA WYBORCZA of Solidarity the day after conclusion of the elections to the Sejm and the Senate in Poland.

The government coalition will have an absolute majority in the Sejm to adopt laws but it will not gain a two-third qualified majority making it possible to amend the constitution and to cancel the Senates' veto against laws. The opposition's domination in the Senate is also obvious, goes on GAZETA WYBORCZA.

The second round determines the composition of the National Assembly, that is, the two joint houses. The Assembly's task is only, and as much as, to elect the president. If the remaining nine Solidarity candidates win, we will have 261 out of 560 seats in the Assembly. If out of a dozen or so mandates granted to the coalition we elect also people supported by Solidarity and whose views are closer to the opposition than to the government, we can theoretically gain advantage in the Assembly, GAZETA WYBORCZA writes.

Election Commission on Sejm, Senate Organization

AU2306125689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
20 Jun 89 p 2

[Text] PAP—The State Election Commission has said that according to preliminary data, the turnout for the second round of the elections to the Sejm and Senate was 25.31 percent of eligible voters.

With the end of the second round, the process of forming a new Sejm and Senate has also ended, and a new term of office has thus begun.

Although the exact dates of the inaugural sessions of the two parliamentary chambers are still not known, the State Council must convene inaugural sessions within 1 month. Opinions are divided on whether these sessions will actually take place in 1 month's time, or whether they will take place sooner. Whatever the case, the Sejm Chancellery is in a state of alert because what is commonly referred to as the inaugural session will in fact certainly consist of several sessions, at which deputies will deposit their oaths, elect a Sejm marshal and vice marshal, receive the government's expected resignation, and so on. The Sejm also has to approved last week's State Council decree on changes to the election law in connection with the unfilled seats on the national list. A State Tribunal should also be appointed.

It is the same with the Senate. This chamber will certainly need two sessions so that the senators can deposit their oaths, take up their seats, and, just like the Sejm deputies, approve the election results. The Senate will probably also want to draft its own regulations quickly.

Following these sessions, the National Assembly (in other words, the Sejm and Senate together) will be able to meet to elect the president.

What will contacts between the Sejm and Senate be like? That is a matter that concerns the two sovereign chambers. There has been no experience in this field since before the war. All we know is that in view of the problem of premises in Wiejska Street, the Senate will be invited to hold its plenary sessions in the Sejm's assembly hall. Of course, this would require both chambers to coordinate among each other the dates of their sessions. It was expected that the Hall of Columns on Wiejska Street would be meeting place for the Senate, but it has turned out to be unsuitable because accommodation is required not just for the Senate, but also for the president, government, diplomats, the public, and a certain number of journalists.

What kind of executive bodies will there be in Wiejska Street? The Sejm Chancellery already exists. One can expect the Senate to have its own chancellery. Opinions on how things will look in the end are varied. The Senate itself will decide. In any case, according to some people, some Sejm departments should not serve the Sejm and Senate at the same time, for example the legal office. It is also held that the Sejm and Senate should each have their own separate work organization offices. On the other hand, there is no problem in making some Sejm facilities available for use by the Senate, such as the Sejm library and economic-technical services.

Journalists are naturally interested in the question of the press bureau. Whether there will be one press bureau or two, and whether or not the two chambers will want to appoint their own press spokesmen, there are plans for a press center in Wiejska Street, serving both the Sejm and the Senate.

Ciosek Interviewed on Trade Unions, Pluralism

AU2306121589 Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish
May 89 pp 4-11

[Interview with Stanislaw Ciosek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by Ludwik Krasucki: "Closer all the Time"—date, place not given]

[Text] [NOWE DROGI] It looks like old political jokes are beginning to lose their meaning. One joke spoke of the following sequence of stormy months in the Polish political calendar: June, October, December, March, August, and so on, and asked what month comes next. Yet 1989 contains a proper sequence of months: January—the 10th Plenum; February and March—the "roundtable; April—the legislation that permits the Sejm and Senate elections; May—the Second National PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Conference, considered by some to be as important as a congress: June—the elections... .

[Ciosek] You had better not speak too soon. Nevertheless, we are in a year which may turn out to be a year of breakthrough not only for the present extremely complicated decade but also for the entire period since the war.

[NOWE DROGI] A breakthrough toward what?

[Ciosek] Toward a better future, for example, an acceleration toward a socialist market economy and accompanying changes in economic policy. In political life, we have a breakthrough toward parliamentary democracy, which is the expression and culmination of the evolution of people's rule in the direction of a law-governed state, requiring a clear demarcation between the legislature, executive, and judiciary.

Political and trade union pluralism is becoming reality. Although differences in opinion and ways of thinking in Poland were acknowledged by the existence of a pluralism of world outlook, this pluralism was never confirmed in the form of various different political and social institutions, including trade unions.

Taking into account Polish traditions, one can even say that Polish society possesses a natural tendency to associate itself. One cannot overvalue the development toward a complete freedom to organize constructive associations. It is worth saying that investigations show that Polish liberties in this sphere are often more extensive than in many other European countries with a long and unquestioned democratic tradition.

[NOWE DROGI] However, one hears complaints that these expanded liberties are limited to the forming of new associations, and not new parties.

[Ciosek] That is not a taboo subject, but what we are involved in is a gradual evolution, a series of profound reforms that bring gradual results, avoiding dangerous avalanches. It is possible that the situation might become ripe for the existence of several new parties. Such an eventuality is possible, and is being taken into account. However, conditions have to be ripe for it. The political system and public life cannot digest too many profound changes at the same time. Apart from that, it takes time for people to gather themselves into forces willing to set up new parties.

There is one more factor requiring profound analysis, for which we do not yet have the resources. I mean the process whereby each party is asserting itself and establishing its separate identity. Everyone can see that this process, a complicated one and one which is assuming spectacular forms, is taking place in every single component part of the present coalition. We still do not know what role the United Peasant Party and Democratic Party will play, and what possibilities of expression they will have in the new situation. Neither do we know how the three associations of Catholics and lay Christians in the present coalition will develop, and what kind of relationship they will have with each other.

An accurate and responsible forecast of the development of the party system must be based on an accurate picture of the stage on which this process will be acted out in future, an accurate map of the terrain on which it will occur. We still have no such map. It will be drawn as our political experiment matures in time.

[NOWE DROGI] I would like to discuss an issue which has caused a great deal of emotion in the past and is still doing so. My question is: In the light of all the events in Poland between 1980 and 1988, can Polish trade union pluralism be separated from political pluralism? Will the legalized "Solidarity" not be a political stream at the same time? Can such a situation be avoided?

[Ciosek] I will give a brief answer. A lot has been written about the fact that I avoided accusing "Solidarity" of trespassing on political territory and possessing the qualities of a quasi-political party during my work as government plenipotentiary for trade union affairs and during my tense and complicated negotiations on this topic. However, I will repeat what I have always said, that it lies in the interests of the country, all the people involved, and all working people in general to banish political disputes from enterprises, not introduce them.

[NOWE DROGI] Where do you get such an idea?

[Ciosek] First, it is impossible to establish a clear dividing line between political and trade union activity, especially during a crisis which possesses an economic, political, and psychological nature at the same time.

[NOWE DROGI] There is a well-known American saying that if there are 100,000 fish in a lake, and a fisher's union a million-strong political activity cannot be avoided. [sentence as published]

[Ciosek] Exactly. However, the question emerges: What is natural, and what might be dangerous? Continuing in the way of thinking illustrated by the above saying, one can say that it is impossible to avoid entering the sphere of politics in some way.

Second, one must avoid a situation where a "political upheaval" merely poisons the waters and kills off the fish; causes anarchy not only in open spaces but all over the country; and leads to a bottleneck in which it is impossible to solve not only problems involving fish but all other problems as well.

Perhaps we have succeeded in solving these key problems during the long and hard "maturing" process by both sides, and during the open dialogue and long search which we call the "roundtable."

Because the achievements of the "roundtable" are generally known and have been publicized from all angles, I will only briefly mention one of its qualities. For the first time in the history of the Polish People's Republic, the "roundtable" has created conditions for differences in political opinion and disputes to be resolved by the political and public institutions that exist for this purpose, starting with the new Sejm. This will enable political disputes to be banished from factories. The specter of strikes against a political background will be removed, and political dissatisfaction will no longer serve as a pretext for violations of labor discipline and mismanagement.

In the eyes of a major part of our society and of many earnest foreign observers, striking against the background of politics has become a Polish disease. In today's Europe, political life and disputes take place after work, not during it, and not at the expense of production.

[NOWE DROGI] Does that mean there will be no more politics in the streets?

[Ciosek] There will be no more political zeal, but there will of course be various peaceful marches and rallies and various civilized forms of political expression that conform to the public order.

I remember a saying by Lech Walesa: It is stupid to remove stones from Polish sidewalks, because the next day it will be necessary to repair them with one's own hands.

[NOWE DROGI] What about economic disputes?

[Ciosek] A deeply-premeditated procedure of negotiations has been established. It is no coincidence that the "roundtable" spent a lot of time on this. As we know, the activation of trade union pluralism and legalization of "Solidarity" involves rights and duties which must be observed when creating a joint trade union representation in work places and adopting a joint stance during negotiations with enterprise managements. A procedure has also been established which would come into play if the above mechanism fails.

[NOWE DROGI] You said in your television interview that the way in which that part of the "roundtable" that took place "behind closed doors" reached agreement will be revealed.

[Ciosek] Of course, not everything was settled during the meetings of various teams and sub-teams. In fact, we did report, in a way previously agreed on, about meetings which, on Comrade Czeslaw Kiszczak's initiative, took place among a narrower circle of people, usually in Magdalenka.

I make no secret of the fact that there were many other meetings at various stages of the accord process, starting last fall. Because I was one of the busiest negotiators, and that is no secret either, I can tell you that for weeks on end I did nothing but attend compulsory meetings, and was absent all the time from the Central Committee and Patriotic Movement of National Accord. I had no Sundays off. I even got home late at night. Well, the "roundtable" wagon creaked very often, and from time to time one of its wheels got stuck. There were times when the road along which it traveled seemed impassable. It was necessary to oil the wagon, push it clear of the mud, and remove the obstacles on the road. For the sake of the common welfare, we agreed not to describe all this for the time being. I will remain faithful to that agreement.

In a nutshell, it was difficult, sometimes very much so. Nevertheless, it was easier than expected when one considers all the differences in views, the extent of the mutual distrust, the various prejudices, and the road each side had to travel before it was ripe for a great compromise.

[NOWE DROGI] One Western correspondent wrote that the final "roundtable" session only confirmed what had been agreed on before the talks started.

[Ciosek] Nonsense. We traveled the road together. In fact, looking back on the talks, we reached an accord on far more than we had expected. It is not a paradox to say that the open discussion on topics on which Poles are divided revealed that there are more topics that unite us than we thought there were when we sat down at the "roundtable" for the first time.

[NOWE DROGI] In other words, pluralism has proved successful. Who takes the credit?

[Ciosek] Both sides do. It would not be wise to measure contributions with laboratory precision. As far as people from "Solidarity" and the opposition are concerned, I wish to underline their goodwill, their determination to reach agreement, their knowledge of affairs.

[NOWE DROGI] Some of the statements which one heard after the all day sessions, in television programs, for example, were very bellicose indeed....

[Ciosek] In the congress hall such voices were heard less frequently, especially after the first few days. Nevertheless, there was no lack of hard language and clashes on both sides. It stemmed from a mutual desire to draw the maximum benefit from the time which still remained.

Those signals included ones which were sent out to reassure and calm one's own political base. This can also be explained by the fact that our partners had been granted wide media access.

[NOWE DROGI] Nevertheless, a large disparity remains....

[Ciosek] The list of agreed points is long and of great consequence. As for radio and television, we have made access to these readily available to the opposition by the front door. There is now no need for partisan-like operations, for ambush and surprise. The opposition no longer has to squeeze itself in through the window, when its access to the media is a natural consequence of its presence in the Sejm, Senate, and other institutions. An opposition which upholds the current constitutional principles becomes a constituent part of the system of authority.

[NOWE DROGI] We have also heard about a tendency to pit the authorities against society....

[Ciosek] Only at the beginning. After week or so this was dropped. I see this as the swan-song of the more bellicose spirits within the party, and the emergence of realism in an attempt to comprehend a situation which cannot be resolved into a clear cut division into them and us, and which eludes all attempts at simplifying it.

[NOWE DROGI] One also hears cries from the far left....

[Ciosek] The authenticity of political life cannot be split into bits. If it exists as in the case of Poland, it will also include everything, lock, stock, and barrel. The first secretary in his speech in Katowice spoke about this. He described the carousel of self-adulation and incantation, as the mechanism which ensures that primitive populism and social demagogy, the two fundamentalisms, are bound to come face to face, sooner or later.

[NOWE DROGI] It cannot be denied that the machinations of the anti-reformers erode the party's credibility.

[Ciosek] They do not add to it. These people are unimportant. The party has clearly confirmed its reformist readiness and zeal. It is futile to talk of a conservative conspiracy which is blocking reforms, as the facts prove otherwise. They point to a direct link between the 10th plenum on the one hand and the 9th extraordinary congress, the 7th plenum at the beginning of martial law, the 10th congress, and the 6th plenum in 1987, which sketched out the reforms that are being implemented today. The shape of our pluralism was forged in debate at the National Culture Council, the Consultative Council of the chairman of the Council of State, and other bodies. I have also seen television debates which included people who are members of the "Solidarity" Citizens Committee ....

[NOWE DROGI] Then this reform process did not suddenly just spring up from nowhere....

[Ciosek] The breakthrough cannot simply be attributed to the 10th plenum, or the day the "roundtable" began. Many other steps in this process of socialist renewal also prepared the ground. Attempts at comparing the present process with the attempts of previous years do not help, in fact, they only deepen old animosities.

[NOWE DROGI] It is notable that the church and the Episcopate have not resorted to this comparison....

[Ciosek] The church and its authorities have acted wisely, with prudence, and great thought. Having articulated its position with great dignity, it has actively and creatively contributed to this process of national accord. It has thus followed the teaching of the Polish pope which calls for social dialogue and trust.

[NOWE DROGI] What next then?

[Ciosek] The "roundtable" is just the beginning, even though what it achieved is already considerable. We have to begin implementing, with integrity and honesty, all the points which were agreed. We must also work out realistic solutions in relation to all the points we differed on.

We have entered a decisive period. The election campaign which is intensifying from day to day is new in its form and content. It is without precedent in Poland and in international socialism.

We have to pass with flying colors in order to proceed further to our evolutionary aims. The next few weeks will have a decisive impact on the future. We are close to our aims, but this does not mean that the closer we are the easier it will get. There is much that we have to learn and think through.

I do not have to stress that this also applies to the party. The only things that now threaten its role in the changing conditions are, inertia, endemic weaknesses, bureaucratic dead-weight, its bad habits, its tendency to dictate, fossilized jargon, and the painful facts of passivity and callousness. The number of votes party candidates will get will be directly proportional to the speed with which the party casts off those mentioned weakness.

State Council Meets, Announces Appointments

AU2306125289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Jun 89 p 2

[Text] The State Council met on 19 June in order to hear a report by government representatives about a draft law on wage rises in 1989 in connection with the higher retail prices of goods and services, and called for a rapid index-linking of wages. The State Council called on the government to quickly place the draft law before the Sejm.

On the basis of the provisions of the law on medical chambers, the State Council appointed an Organizational Committee of Medical Chambers, consisting of 177 people approved by the minister of health and social welfare, the Polish Medical Association, and Polish Dental Association.

The State Council recalled Bogdan Sawicki from the post of deputy chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control on account of his retirement, and appointed in his place Bogdan Lysak.

Bogdan Lysak was born in 1936 in Kielce, to a family of craftsmen. He possesses an economic education. From 1958 to 1960 he worked for the Kielce Voivodship Surveying Enterprise, and then in the Presidium of the Kielce Voivodship People's Council. In 1967 he became deputy director, and later director, of Kielce Voivodship Communal and Housing Services. In 1973 he was appointed secretary and then chairman of the Kielce Voivodship Democratic Party Committee. From 1982 to 1987 he was under secretary of state in the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy, and Environmental Protection; Ministry of Administration and Spatial Economy; and Ministry of Construction, Land Use Management, and Municipal Services. Since 1987 he has been director of the Foreign Department of the Democratic Party.

Commentary Views 'Negative Features' in Economy

AU2406164589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Jun 89 p 5

[Jerzy Sieradzinski commentary: "The Weakening Pulse of the Polish Economy"]

[Text] The communique issued by the Main Statistical Office containing the results for May, confirmed all the negative features of the Polish economy which had been anticipated in the preceding few months. After checking the statistics for April, it is apparent that May is the second month in succession which has registered a fall in industrial production, both in real terms and in comparison with the corresponding period last year.

The causes for this are manifold. The fundamental one is the shrinking pool of home-produced raw commodities and materials, coupled with the continuing low level of imports of basic commodities, especially from countries belonging to the first area of payments. It should be noted that last year, when we were achieving a 5 percent growth in production, the imports of basic commodities themselves rose by 16 percent, and supplies of locally produced raw materials to industry were at least maintained at a constant level. The present figures are much worse. The supply of home produced raw materials has fallen, while imports of corresponding materials has only increased by 6 percent. The meager reserves which the processing industry could draw on, and which enabled it to slightly increase production in the first quarter, have now been exhausted. This fact causes the ever increasing disruptions of work in this industry and the drop in its production potential.

The supply problem is the main, though not the only, problem causing the weakening of the economic pulse. The matter is further complicated by the bottlenecks in the system of financial settlements between units of production, and between individual enterprises and the state central budget, whose deficit, aggravated by the threefold increase in subsidies and by decreasing revenues, has already exceeded the limit set by the Sejm. The bank's continuing support of the state budget in reality runs counter to the regulations adopted by the Sejm resolution.

This suffocation of the state's financial system must lead to an increase of inflationary processes. It is impossible to control inflationary tendencies in a situation of falling production, and where wages, and consequently prices, are rising at an alarming rate. It happens in an unrestrained way, and leads to a complete dislocation between wages and actual economic production. This phenomenon is accompanied by a spiral of ever increasing prices which further aggravates affairs.

One has to ponder the fact that despite the decrease in production, enterprises have in the last 4 months, increased their profits compared with the corresponding period last year. This only proves that as a result of market imbalances, the producer is gaining the upper hand, and that money has become easy prey.

The purchasing power of the zloty is decreasing, and even taking into account the differences in incomes, each month that passes shows us that we have more money than we can readily spend on the purchase of goods in shops. In reality, only every third zloty is backed up by shop goods.

The above facts show the economy to be in a deep state of stagflation, which in economists' jargon means price inflation accompanied by an ever increasing lack of goods. Finding a way out of this is becoming more difficult. A heightening of various clashes and conflicts is bound to occur between the behavior of the producers, which is quite understandable from their point of view, and the real interests of the national economy. Economic mechanisms which have been so painstakingly created over the years will progressively lose control of the economy, and this raises the specter of a complete anarchisation of the economy.

Only the immediate concerted action of all pro-reformist forces with the backing of society can halt the progress of these dangerous tendencies. Only through such joint effort will it be possible, in a radical and effective way, to solve the dramatic dilemmas that the Polish economy faces today, and avoid upheavals and conflicts which in the existing situation, could accelerate the anarchisation of public life, thereby stifling all opportunity for democratic reforms in our country.

Press Reports PRC Arrests, Death Sentences

AU2306114789 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Jun 89 pp 1, 6

[PAP report: "Eight Death Sentences in China"]

[Text] Beijing—PAP correspondent Jerzy Bayer writes: A Beijing court has sentenced to death eight persons accused of complicity in the killing of soldiers who were performing their duties during the state of emergency, and in the destruction of public property, including military vehicles. During the short trial, the accused admitted to having burned several military vehicles and committed other crimes on 4 and 5 June, after the Army had entered the center of Beijing and pacified Tiananmen Square. The court also deprived them of their political rights forever (Chinese legislation talks of political rights, not civic rights).

Thus, the number of people sentenced to the supreme measure of justice for involvement in the unrest has already reached 11. On Thursday, a Shanghai court accorded the same sentence to three demonstrators involved in the burning of a train in this city last week.

Beijing television reported that security forces have arrested another two students whose names were on a list of wanted people published several days ago. Five people out of the 21 on this list have already been caught.

The command of the state of emergency forces has ordered the surrender of all weapons in the hands of private persons. It has also ordered the surrender of all video recordings that have not been officially approved. This refers mainly to amateur recordings showing the events on Tiananmen Square on the night of 3-4 June.

The number of journalists expelled from the PRC has increased. On Saturday, two journalists from Great Britain's Independent Television were ordered to leave the country for filming the army quelling riots in Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan. Earlier on, a journalist from the same station had also been expelled, and on Wednesday, two American correspondents, from the "Voice of America" and ASSOCIATED PRESS, were given 72 hours to leave China.

The campaign to teach the contents of Deng Xiaoping's 9 June speech is continuing. In that speech, Deng described the recent unrest as an aim to overthrow the party and system, and set up a bourgeois republic. Qiao Shi, member of the Politburo and of its standing committee, discussed the main points of this speech at a Saturday meeting with heads of democratic parties allied to the CPC. Beijing views Qiao Shi's role in this meeting as further evidence that he is Zhao Ziyang's most likely successor to the post of general secretary of the Central Committee, at which post a change is expected shortly.

Zheng Tuobin, minister of foreign economic relations and trade, announced that China will continue to expand economic and trade cooperation with foreign countries. He stressed that "most of the developed countries will not alter their economic and trade contacts with China following the suppression of the counterrevolutionary rebellion." He also said that the "developed countries and the majority of the socialist countries have displayed an understanding for our move."

Zhu Lilian, deputy chairman of the State Scientific and Technological Committee, said on Saturday that "following the suppression of the counterrevolutionary rebellion in Beijing, some countries have interrupted scientific cooperation and exchange, and recalled their experts from China. They claimed this was a temporary measure." In fact, France, Sweden, and Holland are some of the countries that did so.

On 17 June, the PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed regret at the fact that Great Britain had postponed another session of the liaison group between the two countries, whose task is to discuss preparations for the handing over to China of full sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997. Immediately after the Army's occupation of Tiananmen Square and showdown with the students, emotional demonstrations on an unheard-of scale took place in the colony.

Leaders at Festive Meeting on Pioneers' Day

AU2306174589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1637 GMT 23 Jun 89

["Festive Meeting Marking 40th Foundation Anniversary of the Young Pioneers' Organization"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 23/6/1989—Friday, 23 June, the Young Pioneers and Young Falcons Palace of Bucharest was the venue of an enthusiastic festive meeting marking the 40th foundation anniversary of the Young Pioneers' Organization, the "Day of Young Pioneers" and the close of the school year. Representatives of the young generation came in large numbers to the young pioneers' festivity, with their teachers, instructors and parents.

Attending were Emil Bobu, Constantin Olteanu, Barbu Petrescu, Suzana Gadea, Ana Muresan, Ioan Toma, Ion Teoreanu, minister of education and learning.

The exuberant meeting was inspired by the ideas in the message by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to the young pioneers and homeland's falcons, all children of the country, the entire youth of Socialist Romania.

The message of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and Romanian state leader—read to the participants in the meeting by Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP—was received with full approval and vibrating gratitude by the attendance.

Thoughts and feelings of love and gratitude for the care and attention given to the young generation, of profound devotion to the homeland and the party were expressed by Poliana Cristescu, secretary of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth], chairwoman of the National Council of the Young Pioneers' Organization, in her address.

"Evoking the 40-year-long activity of the young pioneers' organization, the results in the work for the revolutionary, patriotic and communist education and formation of the country's younger people, we can say that all the achievements are directly linked to the decisive contribution made by party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu to the substantiation, orientation and guidance of the activity of the Young Pioneers' Organization, to its transformation into a true school of communist and patriotic education of the younger generation of Romania," she said inter alia.

The speaker showed that a primordial role in this complex process devolves on the education of all grades, organically linked to life, production, science and research, stressing that in the socialist years, the best living, working and learning conditions have been provided for all the country's children to fully assert themselves: new schools, creches, kindergartens, workshops and laboratories, holidays camps, sociocultural establishments, unlimited possibilities to use to advantage their wish to know.

Next, young pioneer Ioana Dinica said: No other young generation so far has had the exceptional conditions of life, work, learning, recreation, formation and multilateral assertion we, the children of the golden age of Socialist Romania, boast today.

We, the children of Socialist Romania, she said, take a solemn pledge before the party to be diligent and daring, honest and dignified, to grow up and train for work and love our country, to be ready any time to answer by facts the demands facing us.

Ion Teoreanu, minister of education and learning, addressed the audience.

The close of the school year and the "Teachers' Day" are an opportunity to strike a balance sheet and pay tribute to the didactic staff in schools of all grades, who have the noble mission to mould people, to train the youngsters for life and work, together with the family, the revolutionary children youth and women organizations, the trade unions and other educational factors and to disseminate among the masses, the treasures of science and culture, mankind's heritage of thinking and creation, he said, expressing the pledge, in behalf of the didactic staff, children and youth in schools, to do their utmost, sparing no effort, to translate into life the programmes of socio-economic development of the country, of science and education, for Romania's continual ascent to the peaks of socialist and communist civilization.

The participants in the festive meeting addressed a letter to RCP general secretary, president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu.

Next, the participants in the meeting saw a cultural-artistic show given by artistic ensembles of young pioneers and homeland's falcons, laureates of the "Song to Romania" national festival.

At the Young Pioneers' and Homeland's Falcons Palace, a photo-documentary show opened which features the multiple preoccupations of the organization along its forty years of existence and mostly after the Ninth RCP Congress. The show extensively presents the activities and finest achievements of the young pioneers in their technico-applicative circles.

Ceausescu Message to Pioneers

AU2306200189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1959 GMT 23 Jun 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Message to the Young Pioneers"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 23/6/1989—A jubilee meeting marking 40 years since the setting up of the Young Pioneers' Organization in Romania and "the

Young Pioneers' Day" took place in Bucharest, on June 23. President Nicolae Ceausescu addressed on these two opportunities as well as on the close of the school year a message to the young pioneers and to the homeland's falcons, to all children of the country, to all young people, stressing the great attention paid to the young generation by the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and Romanian state. Highlighting that the whole youth of the country benefits today best learning conditions [as received], incomparable with the situation of the past, Romania's president urges the young pioneers and pupils to thoroughly learn in order to become as useful for society as possible. In the 2000s, when you will be in the prime of your creative capability, Romania will be a country with a high level of culture and civilization, shows the Romanian head of state in his message, stressing in this perspective the tasks incumbent upon the Young Pioneers' Organization which is called upon to contribute to the children's patriotic education, to training them for work and life together with the school and the families.

President Nicolae Ceausescu stresses that all those who take care of the children and young people's education have the mission to cultivate with the young pioneers and pupils, with the whole youth, the capability to appreciate the great achievements scored by Romania in the years of socialism, to mould and educate a new, thoroughly trained youth with a lofty sense of social responsibility, with respect for law, order and discipline, youth wholely dedicated to the cause of socialism and communism.

For the youth and children of Romania to be able to attain their aspirations after accomplishment and progress, for the whole Romanian people to be able to dedicate its forces to the implementation of the programs of the country's development, the message goes on, the RCP and Romanian state actively promote an international policy of peace, collaboration and understanding with all nations of the world. Romania most firmly works for the removal of the war danger, for halting the arms race—for the elimination of the nuclear and chemical weapons first of all, for all peoples, all children to live without fearing that they will be victims of a devastating war.

Our country, the message reads, firmly works for the elimination of the force and threat of force from international life, for the peaceful, negotiated settlement of all inter-state disputed issues. In this epoch in which mankind has to cope with numerous political, economic and social issues that seriously affect the peoples' present and future, especially of the young generations, when millions of children and young people in many countries do not have a shelter, look in vain for a job, suffer and die from starvation, are afflicted by poverty, diseases and destitution, Romania firmly and steadily works for the liquidation of underdevelopment and social inequalities, for the building of a better and more just world on our planet. Today, more than ever, the youth and children's organizations, the world's children, their parents must most resolutely fight for the defence of all peoples' peace and security, must request the heads of state, the governments to give up the modernization of the nuclear weapons and pass on to their liquidation, firmly work for the building of a world free of weapons and wars, a world of peace, independence and free assertion of all nations. There is no duty more noble for all those who love life, who love children—mankind's future—than to firmly commit themselves to do their utmost for peace, for disarmament, for ensuring the peoples a free and dignified life, of progress and welfare—a happy future.

In concluding the message, President Nicolae Ceausescu shows: On working in the spirit of our party and state policy, the Young Pioneers' Organization is called upon to actively campaign for the development of the relations of friendship and collaboration with the similar youth and children's organizations in all states of the world, irrespective of social system, with the international children's organizations, for the lasting entrenchment in the world of a climate of peace and collaboration in which all nations—the youth first of all—may freely build their destiny, according to their own will, free of any foreign interference.

Ceausescu, Wife Attend Show

AU2306205989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2005 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 23/6/1989—The general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and Mme Elena Ceausescu attended a festive show at the "23 August" Stadium in Bucharest on Friday, 23 June, that marked the 40th foundation anniversary of the Young Pioneers' Organization, the celebration of the Young Pioneers' Day and the conclusion of this school year.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu took their seats in the official stand where there were also full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, and secretaries of the party's CC.

The attendance also included members of the CC of the RCP, of the State Council and the government, leaders of central institutions, of mass and public organizations, party and state activists, scientists, men of letters and artists, workers, young pioneers, homeland's falcons, young women and young men, students.

To the solemn accords of the national anthem of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the country's flag was raised at mast.

During the show verses were recited which expressed the young pioneers' and the homeland's falcons' feelings of love for the homeland and the party, for President

Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu, for the wonderful conditions for work and education, for their training and multilateral assertion.

A succession of choreographical moments, of suggestive songs and dances were illustrative of the youngest generation's complex work and endeavour to thoroughly acquire knowledge and be brought up in the spirit of love for the homeland, as well as of their achievements in their study activity, of their gratitude for the living, learning and recreational conditions in today's Romania.

Next, young workers, farmers, and students expressed in verses and songs their pride to live at such a time of unparalleled renewals which has ensured their right and lofty duty to participate in the country's political, economic and social life. A series of highly suggestive tableaux highlighted the youth's traditions of patriotic work, its active participation in the activity on all sites of national importance: Transfagarasan, the iron gates, the Bucharest underground, the Danube-Black Sea and Poarta Alba-Midia Navodari Canals, its pride and joy to live and work in Socialist Romania, a free, dignified and sovereign country. The Romanian people's, the young generation's aspirations after living in peace, understanding and collaboration with all the peoples of the world were also reflected.

The festive atmosphere of the show was completed by a folkloric moment—a proof of the beauty and originality of the folk songs, dances and costumes of various regions in the country—performed by ensembles winners of the "Song to Romania" national festival.

The performers voiced the pledge of the homeland's young generation to make a growing contribution to the implementation of the grandiose programmes for the many-sided development of the country.

The festive show ended in an enthusiastic atmosphere. Groups of young pioneers and homeland's falcons went to the official stand to offer bunches of flowers to President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu.

This impressive event that marked the 40th foundation anniversary of the Young Pioneers' Organization, the Young Pioneers' Day and the conclusion of the school year has brought out in bold relief that, in full unity of thought and communist deed with the entire people, the young generation of this country is determined to unflinchingly and faithfully follow the party, its beloved leader, to dedicate its energies and creative power to the attainment of the Romanian nation's aspirations, to the building of socialism and communism in Romania.

Dobrescu, Trade Union Delegation Visit Mongolia

AU2306194789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1649 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 23/6/1989—Over 10-13 June 1989 a delegation of the trade unions in Romania headed by Miu Dobrescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], chairman of the Central Council of the General Trade Unions Confederation of Romania (GTUCR), paid a visit of exchange of experience to the Mongolian People's Republic upon an invitation of the Central Council of the Mongolian Trade Unions.

The chairman of the GTUCR Central Council was received by Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic.

On the occasion warm messages were exchanged between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Jambyn Batmonh. The delegation visited economic and social-cultural units in Ulanbaatar and learned about the working and living conditions of the working people in Mongolia. The delegation were welcomed everywhere with a cordial hospitality.

The GTUCR delegation had talks with a delegation of the Central Council of the Mongolian Trade Unions headed by Chairman Batochiryn Luvsant Eren. The two delegations informed each other about the current questions of socialist construction in Romania and Mongolia, and about the activity of the trade unions. Opinions were also exchanged regarding the cooperative relations between the two trade unions' central councils as well as aspects of the main contemporary issues and of the situation of the International Trade Union Movement.

Both parties restated their determination to further develop the ties of friendship and collaboration between the trade unions and the working people in the two countries, in keeping with the Romanian-Mongolian summit talks and understandings. The necessity was underlined to strengthen the unity of action of the International Trade Union Movement in the fight for the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament first and foremost, for the building of a world of peace and collaboration free of wars and nuclear weapons.

The two parties appreciated that the visit paid by the GTUCR delegation will contribute to the deepening and expansion of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the working people and the trade unions in Romania and Mongolia.

Sailor Jumps Ship, Seeking Asylum in Turkey

TA2206050589 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish
0430 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] A Romanian sailor who jumped ship in the Bosporus has asked for asylum in Turkey. The incident occurred at around 1700 yesterday. The sailor was picked up by a passing motorboat and turned over to the authorities.

TASS Commentary on Budapest Events Cited
AU2306170189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Jun 89 p 4

[Text] Moscow, 20 June (AGERPRES)—TASS has sent a commentary on the events that took place in Budapest on 16 June. The commentary reads as follows:

The ceremony on the reinterment of Imre Nagy which took place in Budapest on 16 June and which had been meant to mark the end of the tragic events of the past and a means toward national reconciliation and understanding in the Hungarian society, unfortunately turned into something different. In contrast to the spirit of the funereal atmosphere, the speeches of those representing the opposition forces sharply attacked the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], the USSR, socialism, and the international obligations of the Hungarian People's Republic, thus generating concern both in Hungary and in other socialist countries.

Even if we took the most unbiased approach to the statements made at the ceremony, the majority of them cannot be accepted, the TASS commentary continues, because they belong to the category of abuse and insults. Neither should we minimize the significance of the venomous statements of the "fighters against communist dictatorship."

A concise program of the extremist element of the Hungarian opposition was presented at the funeral ceremony in Budapest on 16 June. We believe that now it is clear to many that it is not concerned with making socialism in Hungary more humane, nor with reflecting the "blank spots" in history in a comprehensive and balanced way, nor with bringing about economic reforms and improving the people's well-being. A complete undermining of the MSZMP's position in society, the withdrawal of Soviet troops deployed there within the framework of agreements and commitments within the Warsaw Pact, and at the same time blaming the USSR for all economic problems and tragic pages in Hungarian history—these are the main goals pursued by a number of alternative and opposition groupings.

Certainly, it must not be forgotten that those who took the floor at the funeral ceremony represent quite a small section of the Hungarian society. The overwhelming majority of the country's populace favors friendship and alliance with the USSR, the TASS commentary says.

Examining the statements by the representatives of the opposition in the press and the campaigns organized by them of a clearly antagonistic nature with regard to Romania and Czechoslovakia, an unambiguous conclusion can be drawn: It is being suggested to the country's public that the enemies of Hungary are its socialist neighbors: the states of the Warsaw Pact.

It is no accident that the event in Budapest gave rise to alarm and concern in Romania and Czechoslovakia. As J. Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, stated in a recent speech, "Certain circles in the West would like to regard the funeral ceremony for Imre Nagy as the symbolic burial of socialism in that country. We believe that, on the contrary, those forces that link Hungary's future with socialism will become more active. Without any doubt, progressive people, not only in our country, wish the same thing."

The profound political and economic reforms and a new assessment of events and politicians in Hungary's history are a domestic matter for the Hungarian people. However, the development of Soviet-Hungarian friendship, the most valuable achievement of our peoples, is a bilateral matter, the commentary concludes.

New Cargo Ship Launched at Braila Shipyards
AU2606103789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0837 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 26/6/1989—The Rimnicu Sarat 8,750 dwt large multipurpose cargo ship has left the shipyard of Braila for trials. The new ship will carry general merchandise, bulk cargo, as well as containers. Rimnicu Sarat is the largest vessel ever built by this shipyard (with a length of 130,8 meters and a width of 17,70 meters), being equipped with Romanian 6,150 horse power engines.

The shipbuilders of Braila manufacture also other types of ships, including a 6,100 horse power tug boat which is a national first.

Leaders' Public Appearances 17-23 June
AU2406150189

[Editorial Report] Bucharest AGERPRES in English report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 17-23 June period (time and date of each report given in parentheses):

Emil Bobu, member of the Political Executive Committee (PEC) of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP); Constantin Olteanu, PFC member; Barbu Petrescu, RCP Central Committee member and deputy prime minister; PEC candidate members Suzana Gadea and Ana Muresan; Ioan Toma, first secretary of the Union of Communist Youth and minister for youth problems; and Ion Teoreanu, minister of education and instruction, attended a festive meeting marking the 40th anniversary of the Young Pioneers' Organization in Bucharest on 23 June. (1637 GMT 23 Jun 89)

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu attended a pioneers' festive show on the 40th anniversary of the pioneers' organization, in Bucharest on 23 June. (2005 GMT 23 Jun 89)

President Nicolae Ceausescu received outgoing Jamaican Ambassador Glaister G. Duncan in Bucharest on 20 June. (1716 GMT 20 Jun 89); on 21 June, Ceausescu received and granted an interview to Algerian journalists in Bucharest. (1013 GMT 21 Jun 89)

Radu Balan, PEC candidate member and chairman of the State Planning Committee, met with Polish counterpart Franciszek Gaik in Bucharest on 23 June. (1709 GMT 23 Jun 89)

Nicolae Constantin, PEC member, met with GDR party delegation headed by Erich Mueckenberger in Bucharest on 17 June. (1302 GMT 17 Jun 89)

Constantin Dascalescu, PEC member and prime minister, received Polish planning official Franciszek Gaik in Bucharest on 22 June. (1611 GMT 22 Jun 89)

Ion Dinca, PEC member and first deputy prime minister, attended a meeting at the DPRK Embassy in Bucharest on 21 June. (1805 GMT 21 Jun 89)

Miu Dobrescu, PEC member and chairman of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania, visited Mongolia from 10-13 June. (1649 GMT 23 Jun 89)

Kidnapping of Belgian Justice Minister Thwarted

AU2406132289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Belgian police have prevented the kidnapping of Justice Minister Melchior Wathelet, which was being prepared by the (?Albanian) mafia in cooperation with Belgian and Turkish gangsters.

The plan was to blackmail the Belgian Government by using the kidnapping to force the release of Basri Bajrami from jail. This Albanian, who has Yugoslav citizenship, was arrested for the kidnapping of former Belgian prime minister, Paul Vanden Boeynants. The Belgian press, which has been writing in detail about this affair claims that about [word indistinct] Albanians, Yugoslavs, and Turks have been arrested. These include a number of people who came especially from Yugoslavia.

More on Plot To Kidnap Minister

LD2506184189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1553 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Text] Brussels, June 25 (TANJUG)—A first-rate sensation has been caused in this country by the disclosure that members of the "Yugoslav Albanian underground", in collaboration with domestic and "Turkish gangsters", have planned to kidnap Belgian Justice Minister Melchior Wathelet and demand his exchange for their arrested member Basri Bajrami.

Bajrami, a 34-year-old ethnic Albanian from the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo and a Belgian citizen, is behind the bars for his part in January this year in the kidnapping of former Belgian Prime Minister Paul Vanden Boeynants and the extortion from his family of a ransom of nearly two-million dollars.

On June 15, Belgian police concluded on the strength of hints coming from the "Belgian-Albanian underground" that Minister Wathelet was in danger of being abducted. Special police forces imposed strict security measures to protect the minister and his family and intensified the protection of other ministers and Prime Minister Wilfried Martens.

Belgian newspapers, citing police sources, claim that "a number of persons have come specially from Yugoslavia" to assist in the kidnapping of the minister and the liberation of Bajrami.

One of the masterminds behind the plot was Bajrami's Belgian wife Evelyne Braibant, who was recently released from jail. By following her and tapping her telephone conversations from a hideout in the Netherlands, police succeeded in tracking down Bajrami in February. Bajrami was arrested at the station in the French town of Metz with 198,000 swiss francs in his pockets. This was said to have been part of the ransom obtained for the release of Vanden Boeynants.

Bajrami, one of the most notorious gangsters, belonged to the band of Belgium's number one enemy Patrick Hammers, the organiser of the Vanden Boeynants kidnapping. Hammers and two other members of the gang were arrested in Rio de Janeiro early this month.

During the night between Thursday and Friday police raided gangster hideouts in Brussels and Chareleroi, arresting some 15 Albanian Yugoslavs and Turks and seizing a quantity of light arms and ammunition.

Markovic Receives Turkish Justice Minister

LD2406020989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1350 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Jun (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic today received Turkish Minister of Justice Oltan Sungurlu. The talks were also attended by Vlado Kambovski, federal secretary for justice and organization of the federal administration.

Markovic and Singurlu assessed that Yugoslav-Turkish relations are successfully developing. They concluded that economic cooperation should be expanded and advanced since there is a mutual interest in and significant potentials for this on the basis of the two economies' complementary features.

Commission Endorses Report on LCY Activity

LD2306143889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1009 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 23 Jun (TANJUG)—The commission of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee for the preparation of the draft report on the activity of the LCY and the performance of the LCY Central Committee between the 13th and the extraordinary 14th congresses today endorsed the draft proposal of the report.

While preparing the draft the commission was reported to have taken into consideration the suggestions and proposals which were made at sessions of the committee for the preparation of the 14th extraordinary congresses today endorsed the draft proposal of the report.

While preparing the draft the commission was reported to have taken into consideration the suggestions and proposals which were made at sessions of the committee for the preparation of the 14th extraordinary congress and of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. [passage omitted]

LCY Presidium Explains Position on Orlandic

LD2406090489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1618 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Titograd, 23 Jun (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin League of Communists [LC] Central Committee Presidium was acquainted today with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium's stands, adopted at the June 6th session, at which the report and demand by the 10th extraordinary congress of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee in connection with Marko Orlandic's candidature and appointment as ambassador to the DPRK was considered. In the report of the LCY Central Committee Presidium this organ's stand, sent to the 10th congress of the Montenegrin Communists, is repeated that "the LCY Central Committee Presidium has never and on no occasion proposed ambassadors, nor has it discussed as to who, and where, an ambassador of the SFRY should be."

The LCY Central Committee Presidium maintains that it was associated with this issue because some of the regular contacts in cooperation between the Party Presidium and the State Presidency may have been rendered as an initiative by this organ.

To have these issues properly clarified, the reply resumes, one should bear in mind the statement of the SFRY Presidency of 12 May this year in which it is cited "that the facts undoubtedly demonstrate that the procedure of Marko Orlandic's appointment was fully in keeping with the law and other provisions, and that the decision was reached in line with the valid criteria on the basis of the proposals by the competent organs of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro and the Federation," and that it can be changed in the same way.

Bearing this in mind, the LCY Central Committee Presidium believes that this was by no account a matter of an abuse on the part of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and its members, so there is no basis for establishing ideopolitical responsibility.

Momir Bulatovic, president of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium, noted that the 10th congress of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee did not want to name in public individuals from the top party leadership of the country, but preferred to plead for a public insight into a very significant area such as diplomatic service. The LCY Central Committee Presidium, he stressed is expected to find enough strength to say something more specific about Marko Orlandic's candidature. However, the reply addressed to the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium still casts obscurity about this issue.

Army Paper Commentary Examines 'Inside' Dangers

AU2406190389 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jun 89 p 3

[Lj. Stojadinovic commentary: "Principles and Political Interests"]

[Text] The awareness that Yugoslavia has been endangered from inside is no longer the result of courageous reasoning and extreme political wisdom. The thoughts of both prominent and ordinary people invariably include this axiomatic assertion that does not need any proof. However, this word "inside" certainly carries a justified quantity of concern which must be equal to if not even stronger than the anxiety about the possibility of a danger coming "from outside." A public concern therefore does not involve a defeatist note. To a certain extent it (the anxiety) can mobilize social forces so that the justified concern could be replaced with an equally justified hope. However, if the fear about the future becomes a permanent feeling, there will be an imminent danger of getting used to the crisis.

Certainly, the phenomenon of crisis inevitably affects the defense policy. A certain relief of tensions on the global level has temporarily pulled our planet away from the mythical danger of a general cataclysm. We are certainly interested in our close neighborhood and in the results of the efforts to help us live in peace despite some inevitable differences. After excluding some aggressive exceptions, one can say that the peace along our borders is on the level of the "European option." At this moment at least, the Mediterranean is as peaceful as it can be, and Europe is as peaceful as it must be.

Such a simplified presentation of the "relation of forces" and the lack of loud demonstrations of power in our vicinity have encouraged some elements of the varied political mosaic of our country. Demands have already been heard—in the name of the obvious chances of an idyllic peace—for a thorough reexamination of the country's defense concept along with a radical reduction of the Armed Forces. In some cases, hypotheses of this kind have resulted from a well-intentioned layman reasoning, but sometimes it was a modernized version of giving a "political lesson" to the Army. What is involved?

This is certainly a primarily political question and also a sufficiently professional one. The dynamics of the modern warfare shows this inclination toward changing the beat and attaching prime importance to the "factor of surprise," so it is hard to believe that the assessment on the "stability" of our planet being here for good has been made out of naivete. Radical lagging behind modern Armed Forces (according to specific comparisons) would only provoke latent aggressiveness. In fact, stability can be disturbed overnight thanks to our internal differences.

Therefore, the attitude toward the country's defense policy, particularly in the example of the utopian "peace-loving" hypothesis is just another invitation to disagreements on our territory. The fear of a powerful armed force in the country is expressed by those forces which do not care about the power of the country in general. While some reject the future of the Army such as it is now because of its "supranational" and "unitarist" character, others are trying to modify the Army's Yugoslav principles according to their own political views everywhere where that is possible. Both visions involve almost the same danger, the danger of having an old-fashioned and nationally divided army which depends on local national political forces and is incapable of performing its basic tasks. Neither of the two variants go beyond the imperative of "political neutrality," but, from the point of view of maintaining their bureaucratic power, desire a corresponding political support of "their own" army.

The political standpoint from which one demands a considerable weakening of the Army is certainly not based on democratic motives and prospects. It does not involve economic reasons either, although those are inevitable in reforms. After all, defense needs have not been spared restrictive cuts. What is involved here is something completely different. Despite the risk that everything may end with an ideological label, one can still conclude that the champions of the concept of "disarmament" in our country are far from having peaceful intentions. Their intentions are the exact opposite, since they call true fighters for disarmament militarists.

One should still make thorough political analysis on who is doing this, but the reasons involved are certainly obvious.

'Hostile' Pamphlets Appear in Pristina, Pec

AU2406133089 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2001 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Pristina, June 23 (TANJUG) - Pamphlets in which Albanian chauvinists and separatists call on their sympathizers to perform acts of organized sabotage, demonstrations, and other forms of boycott of the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the battle of Kosovo, were found in the streets of the Kosovo cities of Pristina and Pec last night.

The central celebration marking the anniversary of the battle fought between the Serbs and the Turks in 1389 will be held on June 28 this year in Gazi Mestan near Pristina. The celebration is expected to be attended by a great number of citizens from Serbia and Kosovo, from other parts of the country, leading state officials, party officials, dignitaries of the Serbian Orthodox Church, and the diplomatic corps.

The appearance of about 40 hostile pamphlets in the streets of these two cities show that Albanian chauvinists and separatists are not giving up their methods of threats and pressures, although special measures were introduced in the province by decision of the State Presidency on February 27 this year. The measures are aimed at curbing the activities of Albanian chauvinists and separatists and preventing them from exerting pressure on the non-Albanian population, primarily Serbs and Montenegrins, to force them to migrate from the province, and introducing a legal state in this part of the country. Hostile activities by Albanian chauvinists and separatists, whose aim is the secession of the province of Kosovo from Yugoslavia and its joining to so-called greater Albania, took a drastic form in 1981 when hostile demonstrations were organized in the entire province.

Similar demonstrations took place in March this year, when changes in the Constitution of the republic of Serbia were adopted. These changes gave the republic of Serbia state authority over its entire territory which covers the provinces Kosovo and Vojvodina, and which made this republic constitutionally equal to other Yugoslav republics.

Albanian chauvinists and separatists tried to oppose these changes and they organized armed demonstrations in which two security organs and 22 demonstrators were killed.

Albanian chauvinists and separatists made a similar attempt at armed demonstrations in late May in the city of Podujevo, during the visit of a European Parliament delegation to Yugoslavia and the province of Kosovo, but they were curbed when the police intervened. One demonstrator was killed and several were injured in the shooting which took place between the demonstrators and the police.

Gracanin Visits Kosovo, Discusses 'Situation'

AU2406145289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic in Serbo-Croatian 1058 GMT 24 Jun 89

[TANJUG headline: "Petar Gracanin in Kosovo"]

[Text] Pristina, 24 Jun (TANJUG)—Within the framework of a 2-day working visit to the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, Petar Gracanin, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for internal affairs, held talks in Pristina today with Jusuf Karakusi, provincial secretary for internal affairs, and other management workers of this secretariat. As announced, Radmilo Bogdanovic, republican secretary for internal affairs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and Predrag Markov, provincial secretary for internal affairs of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, also took part in the talks. It was stressed that the activities that have been undertaken by the internal affairs organs, in line with the SFRY Presidency measures and the Yugoslav program on Kosovo, are achieving certain results but the security situation in the province continues to be difficult. It was pointed out that the social self-defense system in Kosovo and particularly some entities in this system are still not active to the extent that is demanded of them by the current security and general political situation. Preparations for marking the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo were also discussed. The federal secretary for internal affairs stressed that the preparations are continuing according to the program and that essential measures are being taken so that this important manifestation takes place in an atmosphere of full security for all the participants, in line with its historical and cultural significance.

Together with the republican and provincial internal affairs secretaries, Petar Gracanin, federal secretary for internal affairs, also had talks today with Nikola Skrelija, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. The intensive activities of the internal affairs organs concerning security for the meeting devoted to the Battle of Kosovo jubilee were particularly discussed. It was stressed that all elements of the social self-defense system have a great obligation and responsibility to ensure that this meeting takes place safely, as this is important for the entire security situation in the country, as well as for the normal progress of the tourist season. Petar Gracanin pointed out the wide-spread preparations and specific activities which the internal affairs organs are undertaking in the country, together with the other factors of the system of social self-defense, to ensure that the tourist season progresses normally.

During the day, Petar Gracanin and his colleagues carried out an inspection of the combined unit of the militia of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, toured the security center in Prizren, and the place in Gazi-Mestan where the festivities marking the Battle of Kosovo anniversary will be held.

Sejlani Urges Peaceful Kosovo Battle Anniversary

AU2406145489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1354 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Pristina, 24 Jun (TANJUG)—Nothing is more important at the moment than our involvement in making the celebrations of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo pass without a single incident, as they are planned. This is in the interest of all, Bajran Sejlani, acting president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, said at a joint session of the sociopolitical bodies of Vucitrn and the All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Council of this commune today.

According to a statement issued, Seljani warned on this occasion that any possible incident during this important manifestation would have grave consequences for the political security situation. The citizens of all our peoples and nationalities should comprehend this, Seljani said. Therefore it is necessary to prevent, with all our forces and our greatest determination, the realization of the sinister aims of the enemy, such as heralded by Albanian nationalists and separatists, Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists, and other internal and external enemies. He added that one should also struggle against disinformation, various rumors, and the sowing of fear among citizens of all nationalities.

Seljani also spoke about the political situation in Kosovo and stressed that Albanian nationalism and separatism, as well as other nationalisms, will not be overcome without an uncompromising struggle, and an ideopolitical and work differentiation which is demanded by the present moment. One should particularly strive for energetic measures to be undertaken to stabilize the situation in some communities in which the enemy is active and the interethnic relations are tense. However, Seljani said, everybody should bear responsibility for the smallest incident that happens in his community.

Slovenia Called 'Seriously Late With Democracy'

AU2406184589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jun 89 p 7

[V. Simonovic report: "Halt in Slovene Process of Reaching Agreement"]

[Text] "I am aware of your unfavorable attitude to our alliance and to me personally, regarding, which I do not conceal, the critical attitude that I have and that many of our members have of your organization and some of your actions. This means that I am addressing you without any illusions but with hope, trust, and expectation," writes Dimitrij Rupel in an open letter to Joze Smole, president of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People [SAWP] of Slovenia. The president of the Democratic Alliance has written his letter, as he stresses, before the congress of the Slovene Democratic Alliance which will be held in Maribor on 24 June.

Slovenia Is Late With Democracy

The first contentious question, writes Rupel, is whether the Slovene SAWP is seriously counting on the democratic reform of the political system and whether the Democratic Alliance and the other new alliances have any possibility with the SAWP of any new political work at all. "I am warning you that Slovenia—not to mention Yugoslavia at this time—is seriously late with democracy and that we are being overtaken by many socialist countries...."

Considering the Yugoslav context, Rupel presents, in his letter to Smole, the belief that time is not on their side nor on the side of the SAWP and that the Slovenes are in an extremely dangerous position if they have to somehow protect the achievements of Slovene democracy. In Rupel's opinion, this protection is not possible without an agreement in the Slovene political organism but the process of reaching this agreement has now come to a halt. In this connection, Rupel also draws Smole's attention to the "May Declaration 1989" which, as he says, the Slovene ruling class condemned as an expression of lack of trust and even treachery and which some people called an anti-Yugoslav and anti-socialist statement. "I want to say only that the organizations and people who signed the declaration did not intend to harm the Slovene ruling class but wanted to urge it on to take the more decisive step which is necessary at this time. It is clear that we are persisting with our stands in the declaration which support Slovene sovereignty and Slovene democracy and which no reasonable person can interpret in the opposite way. Furthermore, we think that this stand could also be supported by all other politicians who wish the Slovene people well and who seriously intend to implement democracy in Slovenia and Yugoslavia."

The Unwillingness of Slovene Politicians

Rupel does not blame the interruption in the process of reaching agreement in the Slovene political organism on people in the new alliances but on the unwillingness of Slovene politicians to meet the challenges which the basic questions of democracy throw up. "The next elections, the Constitution, relations in Yugoslavia, and the protection of Slovene sovereignty in the face of obstinate politicians, a party state, and regressive fanaticism which for a European mind cannot mean anything but a revitalization of the worst kind of totalitarianism, are on the agenda. Respected President, we cannot cooperate with Europe if we do not bring ourselves face to face with these issues."

"As regards the Slovene Democratic Alliance, it has so far received different invitations to meetings in the framework of the SAWP, even though our membership to your organization has not been formalized, which again means that we are there at the inclination of the team of the moment and that you can say goodbye to us in the same way as you invited us. It seems to me that the Slovene Democratic Alliance and some other newly-formed alliances serve more as decoration for the regime than as anything else. If I remember well, at the time of entering the SAWP you guaranteed us that you would officially sort out our position in this organization. Since January, the Slovene Democratic Alliance and me personally have been to the decorative advantage of the SAWP. I can no longer accept this."

We Are Losing Arguments Against Milosevic

We are informing you, writes Rupel, that we no longer intend to participate in the meetings of the Presidium until our position has been officially sorted out. Otherwise, you will have to resolve these official matters, as well as financial ones, with the new leadership of the Slovene Democratic Alliance.

"Respected President, you are familiar with our organization's critical views of the current structure of the SAWP. I guarantee that this is not a question of criticism from another party or of criticism for the sake of prestige. Changing our political system really depends on changing the SAWP. Pluralism will certainly not be able to come to life while the party is in a monopolistic position, the SAWP has a state-party position, and the Socialist Youth Federation is a state body.... I have already suggested that the SAWP separate into a neutral service organization and that an alliance of socialists could be set up and organized alongside it. I am saying this to you because Slovene democracy is late in coming and this does not bode well. The final arguments that we could have against Milosevic are falling from our grasp. Without a democratic, pluralist component, Slovene politics is the same as Milosevic's," writes Rupel.

Slovene Political Groups Discuss Party Program

AU2406175289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] A public forum that has not been seen in Slovene political life before has been organized in Logatec, Slovenia. At the initiative of the republican Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC], the program of the LC of Slovenia was discussed by representatives of the majority of the alternative political alliances and movements in the republic, which of course is unusual indeed. Relja Atanasijevic reports:

In her opening speech at the public forum, Sonja Lokar, executive secretary in the republican Central Committee, said that the renewal of the LC of Slovenia is caused by the realization that the world has changed. It is, therefore, necessary that the development philosophy in Yugoslavia should be changed in the sense that (?we meet the challenge posed) by the developed world.

She added that our entire community must create the conditions so that the country can get ready for entry into Europe. We will not be able to realize this or other aims unless the social role of the LC is changed. The LC of Slovenia, therefore, wishes to become a modern organization [words indistinct] and to struggle with democratic means for influence on power and for initiative in civilian society.

Sonja Lokar repeated the well-known stance on what kind of Yugoslavia Slovenia is advocating, and pointed out that it is in favor of a nonparty political pluralism.

The representatives of the alternative—or the opposition, as they call themselves—chiefly praised the LC of Slovenia program, but at the same time they asked for guarantees that it will indeed be implemented. Behind the demands for such a guarantee, one could discern the desire that a multi-party system be permitted. Branko Pirnat, of the Social Democratic Alliance, said that the LC of Slovenia program displays ideological confusion. In his opinion, nonparty political pluralism is the (?latest ruse) of the LC. Pirnat therefore demanded that one should ensure the formation of parties, which would be allowed to join in the election struggle for power next year.

Ivan Oman, president of the Peasant Alliance, formulated the same thought in a more refined, in fact more shrewd way. He said that here was no sense in speaking about the descent of the LC from power. He added: If the LC, which bears historical responsibility for establishing democracy in Slovenia, wishes to become a serious party, it has the duty to struggle for power and not to descend from it but also to enable others to struggle for power on equal terms.

In this connection, (Peter Bekes), executive secretary in the republican Central Committee, remarked that Slovenia should prepare the rules of the political game this year. In addition, the republican Constitution should ensure the right of political association and thus a free formation of parties. A bill will be (?proposed) to regulate the rules of the election game. In the opinion of (Bekes), this would be the most essential standard to ensure that the elections next spring will indeed be democratic.

(Mauricij Plut), representative of the Green Movement, expressed the most interesting observations at the public forum about the new LC of Slovenia program. He said that it is (?not normal) that representatives of the majority of the political groups have gathered in Logatec to discuss an internal affair of another political organization.

Slovene Democratic Alliance Holds First Congress

Rupel, Bucar Make Remarks

AU2406172089 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] The Slovene political spring has given forth the first congress of one of its new alternative organizations. In Maribor today, the delegates of the Slovene Democratic Alliance are presenting and adopting their program, weighing their experiences so far, discussing their relationship to official and alternative organizations, and solving their organizational and financial problems. They will also elect a new leadership of the alliance. Dusan Rogelj reports from the Slovene Democratic Alliance Congress:

After the opening speech by Dimitrij Rupel, president of the Executive Committee, France Bucar and Ivan Urbancic presented their reports, the former as president of the council, and the latter as head of the control commission of the alliance.

Bucar developed the well-known thesis that the League of Communists, which has been and remains chiefly responsible for the situation in this society, cannot shed its Bolshevik and unitarian skin. If it carried out what it promised, it would not only change its skin but its essential nature, and would cease to exist as we know it. Therefore, Bucar explained, we are invested with hope and fear; hope that that the League of Communists will make more and more room for freedom and decide on its own transformation, which is to say the liquidation of bolshevism, and fear that it will give up these efforts and sweep away the Slovene spring overnight.

According to Bucar, the touchstone for the party behavior is the question of Slovene sovereignty. The May Declaration, which is an integral part of the Slovene Democratic Alliance Program, demands that the Slovenes live as their own masters in their house. This demand is the key step in our struggle for true parliamentary democracy in sovereign Slovenia.

Ivan Urbancic also spoke about this document, and compared the Basic Charter and the May Declaration. He showed that the insistence on the rule of labor in the Basic Charter is merely the ultimately discredited notion of socialism wrapped in silver paper. The second essential difference between the two documents at present being offered to the Slovenes to sign is that the Basic Charter in advance decides for Yugoslavia, demanding that Yugoslavia should be organized in a way that is acceptable and suitable to the Slovenes; in this way pushes a kind of a model on other peoples of Yugoslavia. This is precisely what we do not want and do not accept ourselves.

From this viewpoint, the May Declaration—supported by the Slovene Democratic Alliance in addition to other alternative alliances—is much more clear and decisive, Urbancic said. He called on the Slovenes to continue signing it.

After the three speeches, the Congress of the Slovene Democratic Alliance was greeted by numerous invited guests on behalf of their organizations and movements. Among the Slovenes, let us mention Peter Bekes who said on behalf of the League of Communists of Slovenia that the party is aware of its responsibility for democratizing society, but it does not assume the entire responsibility on its shoulders.

On behalf of the Social Democrats, Ivan Tomsic criticized the youth organization for becoming a party mouthpiece. The congress was also greeted by a representative of the Austrian People's Party who spoke in English. He stressed that every individual nation was precious for the new Europe of nations.

An 8-year-old girl sitting in the bench before me is drawing excellent pictures of the speakers. The colleagues of Belgrade Television are much more active in the hall that those of Maribor. The delegates include Borstner and Jansa.

After a pause, the Congress of the Slovene Democratic Society has resumed its deliberations, and we have learned that Hubert Pozarnik is a candidate for the new leader of the Democratic Alliance.

Further on First Congress

LD2406200989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1514 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Text] Maribor, 24 Jun (TANJUG)—The recently established Slovene Democratic Alliance, "one of the opposition political organizations in Slovenia," as they call themselves, convened its first congress in Maribor today.

Opening this meeting, Dimitrij Rupel, president of the Executive Council of the Slovene Democratic Alliance, said many critical words about the policies of Slovenia and Yugoslavia and particularly the activities of the League of Communists [LC]. At the same time he demanded the realization of the Slovene nation's right to decide its own fate and to "return to Europe."

"We renounce 'struggle for power' since our job is to fight for democracy. We will primarily advocate strict democratic procedures and the emergence of an opposition to the regime. We are highly distrustful of those 'theories' that associate freedom with Yugoslav statehood alone. The principal political ground of the Slovene Democratic Alliance is the Slovene state," he stressed among other things, as he made several criticisms of "the humiliated Slovene officials." "They, Joze Smole and the rest, had been chosen by the forces from above, nevertheless they are trusted by little gentle Slovene souls and private owners." "Therefore, Rupel states, the task of this congress is to consider whether one can accept the socialism that on the one hand is based on words and on the other hand on tanks."

About 200 delegates of the Slovene Democratic Alliance from all over the republic who are participating in the 1-day congress, including Janez Jansa and Ivan Borstner, the two who were sentenced in the Ljubljana military court for leaking military classified information, cheered with stormy applause Rupel's proposal that "a Slovene national program should be made which could enable the Slovene state to find its appropriate place in the renovated Europe of nations."

"The Slovenes will not join Europe via Belgrade's will and whims. We must directly contact other European nations. It is meaningless to present our ideas to the Germans or the English in Serbo-Croatian in the Russian alphabet." The precondition for the multicultural environment of the postmodern European variety is, Rupel maintains, "the establishment of a complete nation with its own national parliament, language, television, judiciary, and army." Concluding his address he appealed that "one should not take as an example those who celebrate their 600 year-old defeats as a victory."

The participants in the discussion repeated the theories of the introductory address as they fiercely reproached "the persistent tailoring of Slovenia's fate by Belgrade and the real-socialist center which sees the Slovenes' future in Yugoslavia alone." A number of initiatives were presented to the effect that all the alliances, societies, and associations in Slovenia, the orientation of which is clear opposition to "the present regime," should be more united and make, as it was said, a coalition to work more efficiently toward the same aims." Not for a moment were the economic and other problems of Yugoslavia and Slovenia mentioned, nor were the ways to their solution sought.

A protest was voiced at the congress over "the basic charter of Slovenia 89 of this republic's Socialistist Alliance of Working People. [SAWP]. The basic charter was mostly criticized for its a priori commitment to Yugoslavia, that is, to Slovenia within it. Full support was forwarded to "the May declaration" by the Slovene Democratic Alliance which had so far faced a great deal of criticism because of its nationalist overtones.

The congress, besides the representatives of the Slovene alternative political scene, was also hailed by many guests. The representatives of the republic conference of the Slovene SAWP, the Slovene LC, the Socialist Youth Federation and the Ljubljana LC University Conference wished the congress successful work.

At the end of the convention the delegates will elect a new president of the executive council of the Slovene Democratic Alliance. The former president, Dimitrije Rupel, demanded to be relieved of this duty because of the obligations he would have in the future, but he agreed to remain a member of the alliance's executive council.

Congress Concludes Session

AU2406190789 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1700 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] The first congress of the Slovene Democratic Alliance is concluding in Maribor after a general debate of the delegates. We reported on the congress earlier, and therefore we present now only a brief report on what happened at the congress in the afternoon. Dusan Rogelj reports:

[Rogelj] In the hall of the High Economic Commercial School in Maribor, the discussion on the program has concluded and elections have been held to the new organs of the Slovene Democratic Alliance. All the organs—the council, the executive committee, and the control committee—were newly elected. France Bucar will remain at the head of the council. The executive committee has 12 members, including the previous president [Dimitrij Rupel]. Rajko Pirnat and Janez Jansa were elected vice presidents of the executive committee. Hubert Pozarnik will preside over the alliance until the next congress.

It is interesting to note that the seven-member council also includes Rudi Seligo and Ivan Oman, leaders of the Writers and the Peasants Alliances respectively, and that all the organs contain one, and one only, woman.

As much as I was able to follow the afternoon session, the amendments to the program which were under discussion dealt principally with the economic sovereignty of Slovenia, and in this connection with the proposal to nationalize the entire economic potential of the republic and again to distribute it, or to sell it off, as well as with the revival of the former, in quotes, Kavcic concept of the development of Slovenia.

At 1755, the delegates of the alliance adopted the amended program almost unanimously and with tumultuous applause, and then voted on two interesting proposals: to proclaim the word, counterrevolution, null and void, and to propose an amnesty for all those who committed errors and excesses in the building of socialism. The two proposals were of course voted down by a majority of votes, but in their way they illustrate what level the unbridled freedom of political thought may reach.

Anyway, the Democrats had an opportunity today to speak openly and in the company of likeminded people. If they will act with the same will and spirit with which they held their session, we have lively and better times ahead. Perhaps these times have arrived. A poster was displayed in the congress press room, proclaiming in bold letters: We Are Thinking of Tomorrow.

Slovene Official Views Parallel Legal System

LD2206101789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1855 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Ljubljana, June 21 (TANJUG)—Aleksandar Ravnikar, deputy president of the Assembly of Yugoslavia's Reublic of Slovenia, said on Wednesday that some regulations in the field of national defence and internal affairs have not been included in the offical gazette of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as required by the Constitution and law.

Ravnikar said he learned about this as head of a republican parliamentary group which over the past few months analysed the circumstances of a trial of four Slovenians charged with leaking military secrets.

Sergeant-Major Ivan Bojstner and three MLADINA journalists—Janez Jansa, Franci Zavrl and David Tasic—last August received prison sentences ranging from five months to four years. This has triggered a wave of protests in the Slovene public because the three journalists were tried before the military court in Ljubljana and because the proceedings were conducted in Serbo-Croatian and not in Slovene.

The delegates who investigated the circumstances of the trial do not accept a claim by the Slovenian internal affairs secretariat that there is no "parallel legal system" in Yugoslavia, the head of the OUP told the republican parliament.

The group, whose report will be published soon, called on the president of Yugoslavia, the federal government and all competent federal bodies immediately go ahead with the publication of all previously unpublished regulations and adjust their provisions with the Constitution and [words indistinct].

The presidency of the republican parliament reiterated its stance that the trial before the military court in Ljubjana violated the provisions of the republican Constitution on the use of the Slovenian language in the territory of Slovenia.

Commercial TV Show Slated for Ljubljana Studio

LD2206110389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1559 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—The Ljubljana studio will broadcast its first 1-hour television program on 6 July this year. The future local television program will be a combination of attractively presented political, cultural, sport, and entertainment information. Advertisements will be part of this program and the local television should be commercial, financed not only by the television license fees but also offering new forms of cofinancing of programs. The "buying up" of individual programs modelled upon the super channel will be done within the framework of the Ljubljana television, and the Ljubljana studio will also have its own program council.

Macedonian Candidates Debate Economy, Politics

LD2406023189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0215 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Skopje June 23 (TANJUG)—Dragoljub Stavrev and Vasil Tupurkovski, candidates for members on the State (?Presidency of) Yugoslavia from the Republic of Macedonia, southeastern Yugoslavia, spoke in a special telecast of radio and TV Skopje here this evening on the current socio-political and economic situation in Yugoslavia in general and in Macedonia in particular as well as on their views on the role of the collective head of state.

Their specific duel in public was held within a direct and secret coming out by Macedonians for or against either of the two candidates scheduled for June 25. Tupurkovski and Stavrev should pass through another check—voting in the Assembly of Macedonia scheduled for next July 16.

During the nearly two-hour long live cast, Tupurkovski and Stavrev also answered questions posed by televiewers. Their evaluations did not differ in the matters of complexity, weight and burden born by Yugoslavia through its economic and socio-political crisis. Their shared view was that a way out of the current situation must be found and that, for doing so, Yugoslavia's self-managing and socialist society is both strong and must find strength enough for doing so.

In Stavrev's opinion, relations prevailing at present in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia leadership concerning key-questions of Yugoslavia's socio-economic and political development bear unforeseeable consequences. Thence come both this leadership's responsibility and expectations of it to find strength enough to direct and ideologically and politically lead the battle for socialism.

The central question, Stavrev said, is an economic stabilization and three reforms should secure a way out of the crisis. For all that reforms do not provide for integral cuts, the federal government's platform must be supported come what may.

The biggest problem is inflation, Stavrev emphasised, voicing his deep conviction that the federal government's platform would yield results in this matter.

In the opinion of Vasil Tupurkovski, present is the inferiority of self-management in opposition to central [word indistinct] and making social relations etatist.

This situation demands action which can be carried out through a deep-going transformation only and, above all, indispensable is to reintegrate self-management in Yugoslavia.

A very keen interest was reigning in this TV dual among both televiewers and listeners. There were over 500 telephone calls, masters of ceremonies announced.

Bosnia, Macedonia Face Presidency Elections

AU2406184889 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1644 GMT 24 Jun 89

[TANJUG headline: "Elections for Two Remaining State Presidency Members Set for Tomorrow"]

[Text] Sarajevo, Skopje, June 24 (TANJUG)—Voters in Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, the only two Yugoslav republics which have not yet elected their representatives to the eight-member Presidency of Yugoslavia, are going to the polls on Sunday to do so by secret ballot from among several candidates.

The final decision on the elections rests with the assemblies of the two republics. It is believed, however, that they will only confirm the will of their electorates, as the assemblies of Slovenia and Montenegro did last spring.

Of the five Bosnia-Hercegovina candidates who went on a Sarajevo TV programme last night to set out their views on the situation in the republic and possible ways of overcoming its social and economic difficulties, the biggest chances are being given to current republican Prime Minister Marko Ceranic and member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Dragan Kalinic. All candidates belong to medium-age and younger generations of Bosnia-Hercegovinan politicians.

The two candidates from Macedonia, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidency Vasil Tupurkovski, 38, and member of the republican Presidency Dragoljub Stavrev, 57, engaged in a sort of verbal duel and answered viewers' queries in a live skopje TV programme on Friday. They will answer a number of questions connected with their elections in two Skopje dailies, NOVA MAKEDONIJA and VECER, also today.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia represents the country at home and abroad and has other rights and duties specified by the present constitution. It consists of one representative from each of the eight republics and provinces, elected for a 5-year term of office. According to the established order, members change on the post of president of the State Presidency annually on May 15.

Secret Voting Concludes in Macedonia Elections

LD2506211789 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2003 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Text] Skopje, June 25 (TANJUG)—More than 1,200,000 citizens of Macedonia today turned out for a referendum to give their views on who should represent the southernmost Yugoslav republic in the Presidency of Yugoslavia.

The referendum was secret and direct, for one of the two candidates: Dragoljub Stavrev, member of the Presidency of Macedonia, and Vasil Tupurkovski, one of Macedonia's two representatives in the federal party leadership.

The polling stations were closed at 7 p.m., and the final figures regarding the turnout and the final returns will be published by the Republican Electoral Commission tomorrow afternoon.

According to incomplete reports, the turnout ranged between 50 and 80 per cent.

The final election will be made in a secret ballot at a session of the Assembly of Macedonia, called for July 16.

All the Yugoslav six republics and two autonomous provinces are represented in the collective head of state.

50-60 Percent Turnout in Bosnia Elections

LD2506192989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1830 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Text] Sarajevo, June 25 (TANJUG)—All 6,552 polling stations in Yugoslavia's republic of Bosnia-Hercegovia were closed at 7 p.m. tonight after a 12-hour secret ballot on five republican candidates contesting for membership of the collective head of state.

At 5 p.m. turnout of voters in the largest towns of Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Mostar, Zenica and Tuzla was between 50 and 60 per cent of the electorate. In other towns the percentage went as high as 90 per cent.

There are an estimated three million voters out of the republic's population of five million.

By Tuesday morning the Republican Electoral Commission in Sarajevo will count the votes and announce them to the Republican Assembly, the body which is to make the final choice.

Dimitrovic Criticizes New Political Parties

AU2406124389 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2010 GMT 23 Jun 89

[TANJUG headline: "Yugoslavia: More Radical Party Reform Required"]

[Text] Zagreb, June 23 (TANJUG)—The document on a reform of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) contains no proposals for radical changes required by the necessary social changes, said participants in a meeting organized by the Croatian League of Communists here on Thursday.

Noting that the document prepared by the federal party leadership centres on retaining the elements of the existing political structure, experts and politicians rallied at the meeting agreed that the Bolshevik model of the Yugoslav party, which has a monopoly to decision-making, is in crisis.

The party must democratize its own ranks and substitute the current form of quasi-pluralism with genuine political pluralism, participants in the debate said. Criticizing some official assessments that the introduction of a multi-party system in Yugoslavia would lead to the forming of national parties and to the worsening of the already strained inter-ethnic relations, Zagreb university professor Tomislav Jantol said that "a multi-party system does not necessarily imply political parties on a national basis".

However, addressing the Communists of the island of Hvar, Dragutin Dimitrovic, secretary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia's second largest republic of Croatia, said that he was opposed to the forming in the republic of some political associations on a national basis as they hide "questionable platforms and obvious great intolerance towards the Croatian Communist Party".

Noting that Yugoslavia does not need new divisions and conflicts, Dimitrovic criticized statements by the leaders of some newly-founded political associations in Croatia, describing them as "harmful to the calming of inter-ethnic tension in Croatia and Yugoslavia".

"The party cannot be the sole defender of self-management", said Dimitrovic. Until its 14th, special congress in December, the party will have to find a way to adjust political pluralism to self-management as the basic social relationship, he concluded.

Croatian Democratic Community Secretly Founded

AU2306162989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1533 GMT 23 Jun 89

[TANJUG headline: "Croatian Democratic Community Secretly Founded"]

[Text] Zagreb, Jun 23 (TANJUG)—Despite a police ban, a Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ), publicly promoted back on February 28 at the Zagreb headquarters of the Writers' Union of that Yugoslav republic, was founded "somewhere on the Adriatic coast" last Saturday, the Zagreb daily VJESNIK writes today.

A statement by seven members of the board in charge of preparing the founding assembly of the community made at a parallel meeting saying that early on Dr Franjo Tudjman, who was made the community's president at the secret meeting, started forcing unacceptable and undemocratic methods, contrary to the spirit and principle of the community, can only serve to prove that controversy surrounding the organization persists.

Tudjman, a former general, had served a prison sentence for his active involvement in the Croatian nationalistic movement back in 1971, known as the "mass movement."

The "dissidents," as VJESNIK describes the group of seven, also say that they were deprived of any say in the drafting of the final version of the community's programme declaration, statute and other documents, that the so-called founding assembly was held without their knowledge or consent and that they want no part of such proceedings and dissociate themselves from the conclusions and consequences of such assembly.

The community's programme declaration, says VJESNIK, is contradictory because it opposes any form of nationalistic or chauvinistic exclusiveness, on the one hand, and advocates a hardcore national program, on the other.

The programme aims to "change the intellectual climate in which everybody feels hopeless and leaves the country" and also warns against the declining birth rate in Croatia.

Vojvodina LC Voices Protest Over PRC Events

AU2306192689 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1828 GMT 23 Jun 89

[TANJUG headline: "Yugoslavia—Protests Over Cruel Reprisals in China"]

[Text] Belgrade, June 23 (TANJUG)—The party Presidency of the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Vojvodina today expressed protest and indignation over the cruel reprisals by the Chinese authorities against the participants in the recent demonstrations, primarily young people.

Although it respects the principle of (?non-interference in) the internal affairs of China, the Vojvodina party leadership has in mind the humanistic nature of the communist movement and urges the protection of the humanistic achievements of modern civilization, the statement from the Presidency session set out.

The future of socialism in the world is unthinkable without China, so that the Vojvodina provincial party Presidency hopes that political wisdom and common sense will prevail in this country.

In Titograd, the capital of the republic of Montenegro, the Committee for Human Rights today assessed that the world and Yugoslav humanistic and democratic public view with horror the brutality of the Chinese authorities in dealing with their own people.

The committee appealed to the state organs in Belgrade to take a clear stand and undertake diplomatic steps in order to show that Yugoslavia is opposed to the cruel way in which China is resolving its current crisis.

Vojvodina Constitutional Amendments Adopted

AU2606102189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Delegates at a joint session of all three chambers of the Vojvodina Assembly have adopted the amendments to the provincial Constitution. The changes proposed in the amendments are the initial step toward a way out of the crisis, but the Constitution cannot and does not need to regulate and predict everything that life requires, stressed Borivoje Jevtic, president of the Vojvodina Assembly Commission for Constitutional Questions.